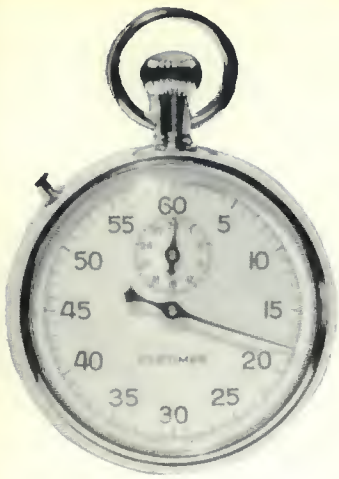
Foreign Service Journal

JANUARY 1968
60 CENTS



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someone is injured in a motor-vehicle accident. The annual toll, according to most recent statistics:

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2,100,000 disabled
$6 billion lost

EVERY 8 SECONDS

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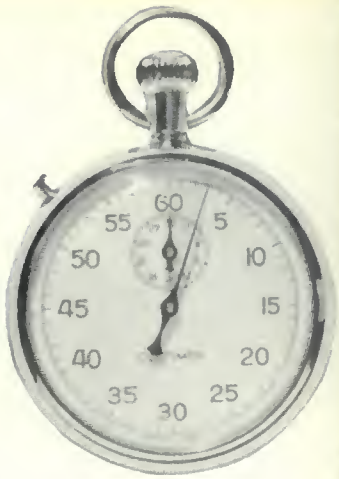
4,300,000 disabled
$1.3 billion lost



EVERY 3 SECONDS

someone is injured in an accident of some kind. The annual toll, according to most recent statistics:

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departments

Marriages

MIHALYFY-SZEKELY. Ilona Mihalyfy, Hungarian language teacher, FSI, was married to Joseph Szekely, retired USIA officer, on November 11, in Arlington, Virginia.

Births

HARE. A son born to Mr. and Mrs. Raymond A. Hare, Jr., on December 11, in Washington, D.C.

Deaths

EINSTEIN. Lewis Einstein, diplomat and author, died on December 4, in Paris. Mr. Einstein was appointed to the Foreign Service in 1903 and served at Paris, London, Constantinople, Peking, Costa Rica and as minister plenipotentiary to Czechoslovakia. Mr. Einstein was the author of 15 books. An article entitled "Lewis Einstein: Scholar Diplomat," by Paul S. Holbo appeared in the JOURNAL in August 1964. Mr. Einstein is survived by his second wife, Camilla.

HOYT. Henry A. Hoyt, Ambassador to Uruguay, died suddenly in Montevideo, on December 17. Ambassador Hoyt entered the Foreign Service in 1937. He served at various posts in Mexico (Chihuahua, Tampico, Guadalajara, and Manzanilla), Valparaiso, Asuncion, Habana, Caracas, Montevideo and Buenos Aires. He also had several assignments to the Department including detail to the National War College in 1956. Ambassador Hoyt is survived by Mrs. Hoyt, who can be addressed in care of ARA/APU, Department of State, two daughters, Pamela and Joanne, and two sons, Henry A., III and James W. Contributions in memory of Ambassador Hoyt may be made to the American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Fund.

JOSSELYN. Paul R. Josselyn, FSO-retired, died in Carmel, California on November 25. Mr. Josselyn was appointed a student interpreter in China in 1910. He served as interpreter and consular officer at Tientsin, Canton and Chungking and was appointed to the Foreign Service in 1924. He served at Peking, Shanghai, Hankow, Vancouver and Singapore before retiring in 1948. He is survived by two daughters, Mrs. Doyle V. Martin, American Embassy, Canberra, and Mrs. Robert E. Grant, New York, and a son, Paul D. Josselyn, Palos Verdes Peninsula.

KEFAUVER. Nancy P. Kefauver, Adviser on Fine Arts for the Department of State, died on November 20, in Washington. Mrs. Kefauver, widow of Senator Estes Kefauver, was the first appointee as Fine Arts Adviser and was responsible for starting the Art in Embassies program. Mrs. Kefauver's work on this program was reported in "The Embassy as Art Gallery," by Ted Olson (JOURNAL, June, 1967). She is survived by three daughters, Linda, with the TIME-LIFE Book Division in New York, Diane, student at Boston University, Gail, student at Mt. Vernon Seminary, and a son, David, student at the University of Tennessee.

KENESTRICK. Millard L. Kenestrick, FSO-retired, died on November 25, in Washington. Mr. Kenestrick served in the Department of State from 1930 to 1955 when he was appointed to the Foreign Service. He served at Manila and as an inspector before retiring in 1962. He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Mary T. Kenestrick, 6170 Hardy Drive, McLean, Virginia, and a daughter, Mrs. Edward C. Fanning.

LAWSON. Stanley R. Lawson, FSO-retired, died on October 7, in Geneva. Mr. Lawson entered the Foreign Service in 1919 and served at Malmo, Viborg, Dresden, Genoa, Winnipeg, Goteborg, Copenhagen, Tehran and Geneva, before his retirement in 1960. He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Ingeborg Lawson, 28, Chemin Port Ceard, Versoix, Geneva, and a daughter, Mrs. Doris Larsen.

MACEACHRAN. Clinton E. MacEachran, FSO-retired, died on November 29, in Washington, D.C. Mr. MacEachran entered the Department of State in 1910 and served at Antwerp, Ghent, Madrid and the Department. He was appointed a Foreign Service officer in 1934 and retired in 1941. He is survived by two daughters, Mrs. Ruth Danie, Westbrook, Maine and Mrs. Dorothy Lord, Coral Gables, Florida.

MAPHIS. J. Alan Maphis, Honorary Member of AFSA, died on December 11, in Washington. Mr. Maphis had a long association with AFSA and the American Foreign Service Protective Association which he helped establish in 1929. For many years he has been a substantial contributor to AFSA's Scholarship Program. He is survived by his wife of 2801 New Mexico Avenue, NW., Washington.

TOWNSEND. Charles H. T. Townsend, Jr., FSR, AID, died on August 29, in Austin, Texas. Mr. Townsend entered the government in 1949 and served at Rio de Janeiro, Belem and Guatemala.

WATROUS. Livingston Watrous, Colonel, US Army, retired, died on November 23, in Washington. Colonel Watrous served in both World Wars I and II and retired in 1946. He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Charlotte Watrous, 3532 Edmunds Street, N.W., Washington, a son, Livingston D. Watrous, US Consul, Captetown, South Africa, and a daughter, Lady Margaret Crichton, Manchester, England.

PHOTOGRAPHS & ILLUSTRATIONS FOR JANUARY

Barrett Stephens, wife of Bart N. Stephens, USIA, cover painting, "Church in Taxco."

Howard R. Simpson, USIA, drawing, "Hausa Drummer, Kaduna, Nigeria," page 12.

Department of State, Herbert J. Meyle, photographs, page 31.

S. I. Nadler, USIA, "Life and Love in the Foreign Service," page 33. Photograph of Richard Undeland at dawn in the Tassili area of Algeria.

George G. Wynne, USIA, photograph of Bui-Vien Street, Saigon, page 38.

Department of State, photographs, page 42.

Henry J. Paoli, drawing, page 54.

The Foreign Service JOURNAL welcomes contributions and will pay for accepted material on publication. Photos should be black and white glossies and should be protected by cardboard. Color transparencies (4 x 5) may be submitted for possible cover use.

Please include full name and address on all material submitted and a stamped, self-addressed envelope if return is desired.

The JOURNAL also welcomes letters to the editor. Pseudonyms may be used only if the original letter includes the writer's correct name. All letters are subject to condensation.

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25 YEARS AGO

JANUARY 1943 IN THE JOURNAL

by HENRY B. DAY

By a communiqué dated January 26, 1943, the American President and the British Prime Minister broke the news of their Casablanca conference. In "The Hinge of Fate," Churchill wrote that an American lady, Mrs. Taylor, had lent her villa in the oasis of Marrakech to Vice Consul Kenneth Pendar and that he and the President drove there after the conference "and were very hospitably and suitably entertained by Mr. Pendar."

Deferred Exchange

In January 1943, the German Government took over control of the Americans interned at Lourdes, France, when they threw a detachment of SS troops around their quarters and then carried the group off to Baden Baden in a German Army train. This interrupted the State Department's negotiations with the French through the Swiss Government for an exchange for the French interned at Hershey, Pennsylvania. While maintaining that there was no connection, the State Department felt obliged to seek for transmittal by the Swiss information about the German Armistice Commission in North Africa and the German Consul in Algiers.

Extraterritoriality Abolished

On January 11, 1943, in Washington, Secretary of State Hull and Chinese Ambassador Dr. Wei Tao-ming signed a treaty that provided for ending extraterritorial rights of the United States in China. In Chungking Chinese Foreign Minister T. V. Soong and British Ambassador Sir Horace James Seymour signed a similar treaty. The rights were in the "treaty ports," in the diplomatic quarter of Peiping and in the International Settlements in Shanghai and Amoy. They included special courts at Shanghai for trial of Americans. The United States also gave up rights under the Boxer Protocol of 1901 which included rights of American naval vessels in Chinese waters and the right to station troops in China.

Relief Packages

In anticipation of a second sailing to Asia when the Japanese granted clearance, a much larger load of parcels was loaded on the *S. S. Gripsholm* than on the first sailing in June 1942. There had then been loaded for distribution by the International Red Cross Committee to American prisoners in Japan, occupied China and the Philippines 20,000 Red Cross parcels, 1,000,000 cigarettes, 10,000 tins of smoking tobacco, $50,000 in medical supplies and quantities of clothing and other necessities supplied by the Army and Navy. As it turned out, the *Gripsholm* did not sail on its next Far East exchange voyage until late in the following September.

OWI in China

From Chungking, Brooks Atkinson reported to the NEW YORK TIMES on activities of the Office of War Information conducted by eight Americans and their Chinese assistants. Using the radio bulletin they distributed news to Chinese newspapers and magazines, published a weekly digest of 1200 copies: 200 for Americans, the rest for Chinese, sent film strips into 14 provinces, published a four-page weekly pictorial supplement for Chinese, and prepared Chinese translations of American newspapers and magazines for 140 Chinese newspapers. The Director of the China Operations of OWI

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was Francis McCracken Fisher. Atkinson observed that although the OWI in Chungking had found a place to build office and living quarters uptown between General Stilwell's house and American Army HQ, the American Ambassador, Clarence E. Gauss, had not yet found a suitable site or building to house his staff. The Embassy had been established during bombing raids and was on the other side of the Yangtse. It took from one to two hours to get to the Embassy from the Chinese Government section.

At this time the Library of Congress was producing microfilm copies of the NEW YORK TIMES and several magazines and quite a number of learned periodicals and these were being sent to certain centers for the use of the Embassies and the OWI.

Home on the Range

A stew was heated up when Congress and the press learned of the nomination of Edward J. Flynn, chairman of the Democratic National Committee and Bronx leader, as Minister to Australia and Ambassador to points in the Southwest Pacific. The odor of the juices was first given off when Mr. Flynn announced the appointment himself without waiting for the usual official simultaneous releases. The final outcome was that the Honorable Nelson T. Johnson continued as Minister to Australia for the duration.

Government regulation L-85, designed to save materials, did not faze dress designers. They evolved the "duration silhouette, sleek, slim and functional," reported Virginia Pope, "with countless softnesses superimposed." They were able to pioneer modern theories of better ventilation by lifting the average hem to 17 inches above ground.

On the masculine front, federal agents found Fred Thanlass Miller, 24-year-old merchant sailor, descending in New York from a convoy vessel with baggage containing a live German incendiary bomb. He said he had picked it up on the street in Archangel, assuming it was a dud, after one of a series of German air raids and was keeping it as a souvenir. He had carried it around for three months and thousands of miles. The bomb was reported in good condition with a normally working detonator.

It was at this time that there occurred an exchange of telegrams between a private and his captain stationed in New Mexico. The private wired, "Whoso findeth a wife findeth a good thing. Proverbs 18:22. I married today. On this account request is made for five days furlough extension. My confidence in you tells me I'll receive grace for such an occasion." The captain replied, "Parting is such sweet sorrow. Shakespeare. Extension denied. My confidence in you assures me you will be back on time."

Miss Cora Frances Henry and John Cushing Fuess were married on January 6, 1942 in Belfast. John was then Vice Consul there and field correspondent for the JOURNAL. Now he is our Consul General in Trieste. He does not believe he should add anything to what is in the Biographic Register but has kindly written that their son James Henry Fuess is a senior at Goddard College in Vermont this year and that their younger son David Cushing Fuess is a junior at Bucknell University in Pennsylvania.

FORTY YEARS AGO

To those of us who have never been informed of how it came about and perhaps to the others who have forgotten, Joseph Emerson Haven's article about the Republic of San Marino is of interest. He was Consul in Florence and was the first to receive an exequatur as American Consul to the Republic. Here is his account of its early days:

> According to tradition, a Christian named Marino, by trade a marble cutter and a resident of Arbe in Dalmatia,

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fleeing from Diocletian's decree of persecution against all Christians, took refuge in the rocky heights of Mt. Titano, in the second half of the fourth century. The mountain was the property of a Roman matron named Felicita, whose two sons were chronic invalids.

Through Marino, Felicita became a convert to Christianity and, miraculously, her sons acquired perfect health. In gratitude she gave Mt. Titano in perpetuity to Marino, and he, having formed a patriarchal community, left the property on his death to his followers, "ab utroque homine," "free of Pope, of Emperor, Count or Bishop."

From that period the community gradually increased, and the first records of which we have knowledge bear the date of 1253. Continually called upon to defend itself against not only the Papal governments but against such powerful and avaricious neighbors as the Dukes of Urbino, Montefeltro, and Rimini, it is not to be wondered that the spirit of independence of this small Republic has developed to the highest degree through the centuries of successful defeats inflicted on invading armies. ■

ALEX LIPSMAN

STRENGTH

MY FRIEND and I sat down at a table in the restaurant. The stranger at the table next to us said something unintelligible and stood up. He put some change down and left, looking carefully at us as he departed.

"What's that about?" I said.

"Beats me," my friend observed, glancing at the change the man had left. "But it's a big tip. In fact, it's a dollar."

"For a two dollar lunch?"

My friend nodded. "Insecure. That man is insecure."

I agreed. "He was worried what we would think of him, right?"

"Right. A lot of people spend a lot of their time worrying what other people think, you know it?

"I know it."

"Now," he said. "Since that man is so worried what we'll think, let's oblige him. Let's figure out what we think."

"First of all, we think he isn't very careful with his money."

"I agree."

"We'll be more careful."

"Yes. Now, what else do we think?"

"Carry on," I said.

"We think he is having an anxiety attack. It may be temporary or permanent."

"Maybe the boss bawled him out."

"I don't think so. If the boss bawled him out he'd be retrenching, not spending."

"People aren't logical. If they feel insecure they spend money and then they feel better. Take my wife—"

"Mine too," he said. "How correct."

"Yeah, yeah," we said together, thinking about our wives.

"There's something else we think about this man," I said presently.

"What's that?"

"How weak he is. Worrying about what we would think. Very weak."

"That's the trouble at my house. Weakness. Always worrying about what other people are going to think. Drives me nuts."

"You have to be strong," I told him. "Set an example for the wife and kids. Right?"

"Take my wife," he said. "We were at dinner with some people the other night and there was a general wailing about

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money. So I admitted I was hard up too. I don't have any dough, I told them. It's payday to payday for me."

"That was honest."

"My wife tittered and said 'Dear, are you forgetting the common?' "

My friend looked at me. "She was giving me a signal."

"I get it."

"Boy oh boy," he said. "Did I forget the common. Do you know how much common I own?"

"No," I said, wondering how much he did own.

"Five hundred."

"Dollars or shares?" I said cautiously.

"Hah," he said morosely.

"Uh-huh," I said diplomatically.

"Well," he said. "I had to say something. I couldn't just sit there."

I nodded sympathetically. "You were under fire."

"So I forced a smile. Then I mumbled something about assets forgotten in the vault. It was a compromise. I didn't lie —but I didn't tell the truth either."

"You weren't strong," I said to my friend. "You should have repeated what you said in the beginning."

"What's that?"

" 'Payday to payday.' "

"What could I do?" he said indignantly. "Make a liar out of her and say the whole kit and caboodle isn't worth. . ." My friend's voice trailed away. "Ah," he said. "Who knows?"

"What?"

"The worth, the worth," he said testily. "Let's order."

"Okay," I said. I looked at the menu. I didn't want him to think I was any pauper so I decided on a three dollar lunch. Which I ordered and so did he, and I had heartburn the rest of the day and maybe he did too. ■

Hausa Drummer, Kaduna, Nigeria, by Howard R. Simpson

It all started with Sir Thomas Francis Wade... in 1883

How Do You Spell It, Please?

LEWIS A. HARLOW

UNPARDONABLE it would have been for you to say in greeting: "How do you do, Mr. Baines." Similarly you would know that you should avoid greeting the head of government in China as Mr. Lai or even Mr. En-Lai. He is of course Mr. Chou after the manner of the phone book.

You may also have been forewarned that you should address him, not as Mr. Chou, but as Mr. Joe. In Chinese, the word sounds almost exactly like Joe, and the confusion in spelling is British—in the selection of letters of the Western alphabet to identify the Joe sound of the picture-ideograph which is his family name.

This trouble started with Sir Thomas Francis Wade. Sir Thomas was born in 1818, and in the course of a long career in military and diplomatic service, he became a scholar of renown on the subject of the Chinese language. From 1871 to 1883 he served as Ambassador at Peking, after which he came home to occupy the Chinese chair at Cambridge University and to create and promote the Wade system of transliterating Chinese into a practical orthography for Western eyes to read.

The Wade system has proved itself best so far, and is presently used by the Britannica, Merriam-Webster, the New York TIMES and all other English language publications which strive for orthographic excellence. Granted that Chou comes out Joe, it is one of only a very small number of inconsistencies. For the most part, the Chinese words, as transliterated by Sir Thomas, are pronounced just as you would pronounce the same letter combinations in English words. There is no problem such as exists in making the similar transition from English into French.

Here is one vigorous lesson in Chinese which includes all of the unexpected—like Joe for Chou. When you have mastered it, you are quite ready for the easing of relations with the inscrutable Oriental. Casually and graciously, you will get his name right the first time.

Consider first, Sir Thomas's use of the apostrophe. It has a meaning such as you have never dreamed an apostrophe could have. CH, for instance, *with* the apostrophe following, means that you pronounce as you would expect. Examples: Ch'urchill, Ch'amberlain, Ch'aucer, Ch'atham, Ch'arles, Ch'ihuahua and Ch'ina. But when lacking the apostrophe, the CH is pronounced like the letter J. Examples: Chefferson, Chackson, Chohnson, Chersey City, Cherusalem, Chosephine, Chessica, Chacqueline, Chou En-Lai and Chiang Kai-Shek.

And *with* the apostrophe, you pronounce K like K. Examples: K'ennedy, K'elly, K'ipling, K'ierkegaard and K'oussevitsky. *Without* the apostrophe, you pronounce K as though it were a hard G. Examples: Kertrude, Kladys, Kloria, Klens Falls, Kolden Kate, Kreenland and Kovernors Island.

The same rule applies to the letter P, which without the apostrophe will sound like the letter B. The apostrophe rule is only in effect at the beginning of a word, but you can forget this limitation as Chinese words are monosyllabic and there is no likelihood that you would see a second P in the same word. Examples *with:* P'erkins, P'ericles, P'aris, P'alm Peach and P'imlico. Examples *without:* Peethoven, Parrymore Pen-Gurion, Puckingham, Piddle Prown, Pernstein, Pethesda, Poston, Punker Hill, Puzzards Pay and Puffalo Pill.

The initial letter T also comes under the apostrophe rule. If you see the apostrophe, well and good; if you don't see it, you must pronounce the T like a D. Examples *with:* T'aft, T'ruman, T'oscanini, T'oynbee, T'ampico, T'arrytown, T'eddy, T'itus and T'om. Examples *without:* Tewey, Tulles, Twight, TeKaulle, TuPont, Taytona Peach, Tistrict of K'olumbia, Tick, Tiane, Tonna and Tolores.

With T, you have come to the end of the single letters that are apostrophe-influenced, but there is one more pair of letters to be included. TS *with* apostrophe is of course TS; *without* apostrophe, it is pronounced DZ. There are almost no examples of *with* words except ts'e ts'e fly—and *without* words like the Russian city of Dzerzhinsk. Sir Thomas's spelling of Dzerzhinsk would be Tserzhinsk.

Because of this shortage of other examples, it is appropriate here to list the Chinese words starting with TS' and TS (just about all of them). The list: Ts'a, Tsa, Ts'ai, Tsai, Ts'an, Tsan, Ts'ang, Tsang, Ts'ao, Tsao, Ts'e, Tse, Tsen, Ts'o, Tso, Tsou, Ts'u, Tsu, Tsuan, Tsui, Ts'un, Tsun, Ts'ung and Tsung.

So much for the apostrophe problem. here are two remaining diversions from the Western standard. (This one is easy, but the one to follow will be quite difficult). The Chinese SH and the Chinese HS are so nearly alike that you will be understood anywhere in China if you pronounce them both as SH. Here are some examples of the HS: Hsakespeare, Hseridan, Hselly, Hsaw, Hserwood, Hsannon, Hseboygan, Hsenandoah and Hsreveport.

Finally and frustratingly, there is the matter of the letter J. Sir Thomas has already preempted the sound of this letter for his CH-without-apostrophe, and he has a J left over in his potential Chinese alphabet. What to do with it? He abandons the letter R and uses the J instead for the traditional R sound! Examples: Joosevelt, Jockefeller, Jomney, Jayburn, Jembrandt, Jeed, Jichardson, Jebecca, Juby and Juth.

When you have learned all of the above exceptions to the norm, you are ready for almost any kind of amenity. Having prepared yourself by a reading in the TIMES of the list of potential guests, you can barge up to your Oriental with confidence and charm. You will not insult him by mispronouncing his name. T'ensions will be untensioned. The pamboo curtain will jise, and the world will pe a petter p'lace for your effort. ■

The Future between AMERICA *and* CHINA

WILLIAM N. STOKES

THE convulsions in Chinese political life today baffle insight into our future relations with Peking, because they are the chaotic phenomena of a revolutionary transition. The "Yenan consensus" which ruled the mainland rigidly for fifteen years has been shattered, and no one can foresee what will follow the Maoist interregnum which clings to uncertain power. Yet important clues about underlying attitudes toward the US occasionally can be discerned, notably in the invective hurled by the followers of Mao at their domestic and external enemies.

In early April, Radio Peking imputed to President Liu Shao-chi and his followers willingness in 1949 to accept compromise with the United States. It specified that Liu's faction advocated favorable reaction to a statement by Dean Acheson, then US Secretary of State, that the United States wished only friendship with the Chinese people. If this charge is valid, it implies a much greater impact in Communist China of US moderation and restraint than heretofore we had reason to believe.

While the allegation of Radio Peking has the timing of opportunism, in the midst of the campaign to denigrate the opponents of Mao, it finds significant echo in the exploratory exchanges between American consular officers and high-ranking Chinese Communist officials which took place in Manchuria in November 1948. From these initial contacts the Communist leadership had direct official indication of United States interest in a *modus vivendi* with the new regime, even before its general advance below the Great Wall. This posed a momentous policy alternative for the CCP leadership, which had already experienced the limitations of isolation and complete dependence upon Soviet aid. Yet, without pausing to explore its possibilities, Chairman Mao made a tragic decision to force a crisis with the United States, apparently overruling the Party hierarchy in Manchuria to do so.

The setting for these unpublicized but fateful initial contacts was the great industrial center of Mukden, which the Communists had seized following entrapment of the entire National army in the Northeast a few days earlier. Great Britain, France and the United States had decided to keep their consulates open in view of the strategic importance of Manchuria, and their desire to ascertain the direction of Chinese Communist policy once the CCP controlled a major region of China. Moreover, international practice sanctioned the maintenance of consulates despite the ebb and flow of civil war.

Shortly after Communist forces occupied Mukden, the press announced assumption of office by a new mayor,

representing the "Northeast Administrative Committee." The Western consuls, according to usage, addressed a letter to the new municipal authority, notifying him of their presence in the city and expectation of protection. The mayor's office made appointments for the Western consuls to call, and they were received cordially, in turn. The American Consul General, Angus Ward, was assured that the Communist authorities desired the continued existence of his office, specifically because the new regime was interested in mutually advantageous trade, by which the equipment needed for rehabilitation of Manchurian industry could be obtained. With this end in mind, traders and businessmen dealing in industrial equipment would be welcome, provided they respected the rights and interests of China. These propositions were echoed to junior American officials by the senior Chinese Communist official in the state banking system, during routine consular transactions at the central bank.

On November 9, ten days after the Communist takeover, the mayor on his own initiative paid a return call at each of the Western Consulates in turn. This was a correct and appropriate gesture, but an optional one. Under the confused conditions prevailing upon a change of regime, it was a positive overture. Ward informed the mayor that, while he expected official comment from Washington shortly concerning the mayor's remarks favoring mutually advantageous trade, his office had already been instructed to obey the provisions of local law and to continue to perform normal consular functions, including the promotion of trade and US investment and visits by American business. When he noted that normal diplomatic courier privileges would facilitate such a program, the mayor promised to permit courier passage, and expressed satisfaction at the tenor of Mr. Ward's statement. The first really "open door" to Manchuria since the Japanese had slammed it shut in 1931 seemed within reach.

Then, only five days later, there was a dramatic reversal of Chinese Communist policy. A notification dated November 14, addressed to the *"former* American Consul" (similar letters were sent to the "former" French and British Consuls), demanded that all foreign residents surrender within 48 hours all radio "stations" in their possession. Consul General Ward requested an interview with the mayor to discuss the notification, but no reply was received from the municipality, despite repeated inquiries. This in itself represented a significant change from the ready communication of the previous week. Mr. Ward then informed the garrison commander (who had originated the letter) that more than 48 hours might be required for a reply, inasmuch as the United States Government as owner of the equipment would have to be consulted; he nevertheless promised to expedite a response. The commander rejected this approach, and demanded immediate compliance with the original terms of the letter. The Consul General was particularly conscious of the need to maintain the norms of international procedure because the address of the letter appeared to withdraw his official status. He maintained his right to obtain instructions before voluntarily surrendering US Government equipment.

Instructions from Washington had no time to arrive before the deadline, because of the makeshift communications and coding facilities then available. Promptly at the appointed hour, evidently in possession of explicit instructions, the Communist command in Mukden surrounded the American Consulate General with troops, cut off its electricity and water, and placed the entire establishment under an incommunicado house arrest. Casual readers in the USIS library, local employees and American staff—all who happened to be within the building—were confined for a period of 13 months. No messages or visits were permitted, official or otherwise; in fact, weeping families of the Chinese employees were roughly warned away from the Consulate building.

Anxious to avoid unwitting damage to a presumed dialogue in Mukden which it was unable to follow, the Department of State did not at first protest the treatment accorded its representatives, of which it was in any case ill-informed. There was little, if any, press attention. The Consulate General found itself during most of 1949 in an eerie limbo, without access even to a Communist Chinese authority with which to debate its future.

After the Consulate had been under total confinement for a year, Consul General Ward was falsely accused of beating an aged Chinese employee, and was jailed in October 1949, a few days after formation in Peking of the Chinese Peoples Republic. For some reason the Communist authorities allowed the young Vice Consul in charge to transmit a brief report of this event to Washington via commercial telegraph. The Voice of America broke the news, and the State Department protested energetically the maltreatment of its representatives. Twenty-three nations joined in appealing to Peking for the release of American consular personnel. In haste the Communist authorities held a one-day trial implicating all members of the American Consulate in espionage, and sentenced all to immediate deportation. It is evident that neither the "trial," nor the allegations they represented, was more than a pretext for disembarrassing the authorities of detainees who had become diplomatic liabilities for the new Republic. The American staff was conducted under armed guard to the port of Taku Bar, and placed aboard an American freighter on December 5, 1949.

Meanwhile, the French and British consular staffs were not subjected to physical restraint, but were unable to establish meaningful contact with the Chinese Communist authorities after November 14, the day of the circular letter with its fateful form of address, and were kept under harrassingly close surveillance by the secret police. Both French and British staffs were expelled within a few days of the final departure of the Americans, on assorted implausible pretexts (the British Pro-Consul because he protested the unannounced digging of a trench under his Consulate office building!).

These events in Mukden merit careful scrutiny, because they represent the first contact between resident Western representatives and the Chinese Communist authorities. They were to set a pattern for the rest of mainland China as the civil war reached a climax, and were a faithful portent of the consistent hostility towards the West that has characterized the Mao regime.

But how can the initial cordiality and readiness to envisage normal relations be explained? Who was responsible for the fateful policy decision to close the door upon intercourse with the West? What are the implications for the future?

The basic Communist decision to disrupt the normal consular relationship was expressed in the circular letter of November 14, 1948, to Western consuls in Mukden implying that they were not recognized as enjoying official status. (It was as though the significant exchanges with the mayor had suddenly become nonhistory!) The importance of this letter was understood immediately by all the recipients: the British representative notified his American colleague the same day that he had no intention of remaining in Mukden under such circumstances, and departed shortly thereafter, leaving an administrative Pro-Consul in charge.

There is substantial evidence that the letter of November 14 represented a high policy decision by the summit of the Chinese Communist Party. It was signed by General Wu Hsu-chuan, whose reliability as a Party spokesman became clear from his selection in November 1950 to represent Communist China at the United Nations General Assembly, for discussion of the Taiwan problem. (Wu also became the first CCP ambassador to Yugoslavia, in June 1956, represented his Party at the East Berlin conference of Communist organizations in 1963, and later became Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Chinese Communist Party.)

Moreover, the essence of Wu's letter was reiterated in a circular communication by Mao Tse-tung in March 1949, by which all CCP cadres were instructed that, upon entering major cities, they should refuse to recognize the legal status of any foreign official establishments or personnel. He explained:

> The imperialists, who have always been hostile to the Chinese people, will definitely not be in a hurry to treat us as equals . . . As long as the imperialist countries do not change their hostile attitude, we shall not grant them legal status in China.

It is important to separate the policy from the propaganda in this statement. The experience of the Western consuls in Mukden demonstrates that Mao ignored promising initial contacts, by which his civil administrators were seeking the wherewithal for economic rehabilitation in Manchuria through trade with the West. Indeed, he did more than ignore them: by specifically withdrawing recognition from the consuls, and arresting the American staff on a flimsy pretext, without even waiting the week or two which might be necessary to explore possible benefits from the initial contacts, Mao determined unilaterally that they should be stillborn.

Although the outside world was not aware of any opposition to this decision, Mao felt the need to explain and defend his decision. On July 1, 1949 he argued:

> In order to attain victory and consolidate it, we must lean to one side . . . either to the side of imperialism or to that of socialism. There can be no exception. There can be no sitting on the fence; there is no third road . . . Neutrality is merely a camouflage . . . In an era when imperialism still exists, it is impossible for a genuine people's revolution in any country to achieve victory without various forms of help from the international revolutionary forces. Even when victory is won, it cannot be made secure without such help.

These remarks, delivered to a meeting of party cadres, sound in their repetitiousness like rebuttal of a contrary position held by some party members. We do not know whether so high a personage as Liu Shao-chi, then the second ranking member of the Party, committed himself on the question as Radio Peking now alleges, but it is hard to believe that so responsible an official as the Mayor of Mukden, chosen by the Party to administer its first major conquest of the civil war, would have acted irresponsibly or personally in the first formal intercourse with Western officials accredited to an area under Communist control. Certainly every other act of the new officialdom reflected the tighest discipline and planning.

Moreover, *detente* with the US made sense, for the same Marxist reasons that justified Stalin's New Economic Policy at a comparable stage in the Soviet Revolution. Rapid economic reconstruction in a country prostrated by a generation of wars cried out for the highest priority. Mukden was China's leading industrial city which had proven its capacity to produce major capital goods and war materiel for the Japanese in World War II. (In 1939 "Manchukuo" was the world's tenth largest producer of finished steel products.) Although its industrial equipment had been raided by the Soviet Union during the military occupation of 1945, expeditious repair would have been feasible, given a channel to replacement parts from US-occupied Japan.*

Now we have Radio Peking's word for it that an important faction of the Chinese Communist Party favored a "capitulationist line" toward the United States in 1949, promoted in 1962 "the antiquated bourgeois world outlook," and even today seeks to "implement the reactionary bourgeois line."** We need not be surprised if important groups in China today are expressing the pragmatic realism in economic matters for which the Chinese people are justly famous. Surely this quality is asserting itself in private skepticism at Mao's obliviousness of economic realities, from the Great Leap Forward to the Cultural Revolution.

It is therefore reasonable to suppose that there is widespread disenchantment in the managerial and scientific elite of the country, which represents a far more profound problem than the personal future of Liu Shao-chi. The same considerations which are altering economic practices elsewhere in the Communist world must be felt in China: above all, the logic of China's revolution clearly demands priority for internal, not external goals.

When the central leadership of China ultimately chooses a non-aggressive optic for viewing the national self-interest in foreign affairs, new horizons will open. China's destiny as a great world power is established: today it can dispense with aggressive militarism and ritual hostility as banner and shield. The humiliations China suffered before 1940 have been avenged, and their perpetrators are no longer able or desire to repeat them. No one can deny China a major voice in Asian affairs, and her frontiers can no longer be trifled with.

The most promising field for expression of China's rights is within the world order that Mao is now defying. Indeed, Mao's personal rule has already outlived its historical usefulness for China, and like all anachronisms eventually will be superseded. Yet the issue of China's destiny can only be determined *within* the Chinese political structure.

Meanwhile, the United States is obliged to help frustrate Mao's policy of militaristic expansionism, whether direct as in the case of India or indirect as in the case of Laos and Vietnam. The choice afforded the United States is between a firm containment which keeps doors open to the possibility of a fundamental change in policy by China . . . and a policy of progressive escalation, directed at finding a terrain on which US "victory" (and Chinese humiliation) can somehow be established. The keys to a wise choice between them are patience, prudence, and steadfastness: the patience to realize that changes in China's attitude toward the outside world will come slowly, through modification of the entire regional environment, and not through isolated military measures; the prudence to adjust the necessary use of force to the dimensions of the particular issue at stake; and the steadfastness where necessary to sustain drawn-out, indecisive campaigns throughout the Asian periphery as the price of an eventual stabilization.

The intemperate course would unleash the whirlwind, and to most Chinese would vindicate Mao's conception of the West. China has the resources to continue indefinitely any struggle which can enlist the energies of her people. No doubt the course of containment is also fated to be protracted, discouraging and costly; even when a successful outcome is near, prospects may seem darkest.

There are, however, hopeful precedents. Is it fanciful to compare the present tragic period of Sino-American relations with the late Stalinist era of our dealings with Russia? The determined yet prudent containment of Stalin's ambitions, against the counsels of preventive war, seems to have fostered fundamental change for the better in Russian society. There is reason, in time, to expect a similar development in China. ■

**A leading Japanese industrialist, who had been president of the Manchu Heavy Industry Corporation in "Manchukuo" days, received overtures from the mainland in 1950 for barter transactions involving such replacement parts, but did not seek SCAP authority to conclude the transaction in view of the deterioration of relations between Peking and Washington—primarily at that time over the mistreatment of US Foreign Service personnel.*

***Broadcast of March 31, 1967.*

Sprechen Sie

Communese?

REED J. IRVINE

ALTHOUGH very few people would even recognize it by name, Communese has become one of the most widely used languages in the world. It is the official language of governments which control about one-third of the world's population, and it is used by them not only in all of their domestic publications, radio and television broadcasts, etc., but also in their communications with people living outside their countries. Even though you may not recognize it when you see it or hear it, you probably come in contact with it many times in the course of an average week.

Is it possible to read or listen to an alien language and not know it?

The answer is yes in the case of Communese. The reason is that it is a parasitic language. It uses the same grammar as your native language and even the same words. The only thing that is different is the meaning of many of the words that it employs.

In this sense it is similar to another parasitic form of language—slang. When a teenager says, "Man, that cat is crazy," only two of these perfectly conventional English words, "that" and "is" are used in their conventional sense. To the uninitiated, the sentence is either meaningless or completely misleading, even though each individual word conveys a meaning. This type of language is parasitic since it feeds on English, but it is not English.

Communese is a different type of parasite from slang. The uninitiated soon realizes that the hippie is really speaking a different tongue which has to be translated into standard English, just as French or German has to be translated. This is not quite so obvious with Communese because the words seem to make sense even though their real meaning may be very diffcrent from what the reader or hearer thinks. Thus the need to translate Communese into the standard idiom is less apparent, and it is frequently used over the air and in the press without any translation or explanation.

For example, the Soviet Union has issued a special statement to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. This statement is written in Communese, that being the official language of the Soviet Union. It will be reprinted in whole or in part and quoted throughout the world in the original Communese. Needless to say, it will confuse those who have never studied this language and are unfamiliar with its vocabulary, and that is precisely what those who employ this language intend.

This statement, in the original Communese, reads like this:

> The revolutionary rejuvenation of the world, begun by the October revolution and embodied in the triumph of socialism in the USSR, has been continued in other countries . . . Imperialism, notably US imperialism, was and continues to be the main enemy of the national liberation movement.

And so on, at great length. To translate such a passage into standard English requires the use of a Communese glossary. A rough translation would go like this:

> The counter-revolutionary enslavement of the world, begun by the October counter-revolution and embodied in the triumph of totalitarianism in the USSR, has been continued in other countries . . . Liberalism, notably US liberalism, was and continues to be the main target of the totalitarian subversive movements in the less-developed countries.

This makes it clear that any statement written in Communese ought to be translated into standard English if it is to be understood by those who have never studicd the language. Otherwise there will be no end of misunderstanding. If the NEW YORK TIMES printed in Russian, without translation, the statements of Leonid Brezhnev, the danger of misunderstanding would not be nearly as great as it is when the TIMES prints statements in the original Communese. Readers who had never studied Russian would not bother to read the statements by Brezhnev, and they would therefore not delude themselves into thinking that they knew what he had said. However, those who do not understand Communese are frequently observed repeating phrases that they have read which they obviously misinterpret. What is worse, they frequently suggest that the government do this or that, basing their opinion on some Communese statement whose true meaning is no clearer to them than it would be if it were written in Swahili.

Ideally, the press, radio and television should translate material from Communese into standard English, just as they translate from French or German into English. The reverse happens as a matter of course in the countries using Communese as their official language. If President Johnson states that the US will not abandon South Vietnam to those who would subject it to a communist dictatorship, the Communese-speaking countries will immediately translate this into their own language to read that Johnson had said that US imperialism would continue its criminal aggression in Vietnam. They have no trouble doing this, since everyone who works in the communications media in these countries is carefully trained in the art of translation into Communese. This is recognized as being an essential skill for those who are engaged in the manipulation of public opinion. Since Communese is designed to help manipulate opinion in a certain way, the translation of statements from Communese into the standard idiom is very much disliked by those who would like to see it used universally.

Until such time as our communications media decide to provide translations from Communese into English, it will be necessary for the readers and listeners to learn to do this for themselves. Fortunately, this is not too difficult. All that is necessary is to memorize some new definitions for some old words. Frequently the Communese meaning is just the opposite of the standard meaning. This is confusing, but once one gets the hang of it, it simplifies matters.

For the benefit of those who are not already familiar with

(*Continued on page* 47)

On the Rejection of

MARTIN F. HERZ

I'M not the village idiot," the Secretary of State is supposed to have said at one point to Stewart Alsop, "I know Hitler was an Austrian and Mao is a Chinese. I know all the other differences between this situation and the situation in the 'thirties. But what is common between the two situations is the phenomenon of aggression." Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. has quoted this passage at least twice with obvious disapproval. In an article in the NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, the eminent historian went on to say:

"One thing is sure about the Vietnam riddle: it will not be solved by bad historical analogies. It seems a trifle forced, for example, to equate a civil war in what was for hundreds of years the entity of Vietnam (Marshal Ky, after all, is a North Vietnamese himself) with Hitler's invasion of Austria and Czechoslovakia across old and well-established lines of national division; even the village idiot might grasp that difference."

One must be careful when one argues in terms of historical parallels; but, I would submit, one must be equally careful when one brushes them aside, especially when one is a historian. So, with due respect for Professor Schlesinger's eminence in his field, it does seem that he may have too rashly dismissed the parallel between Vietnam and, at any rate, Austria. To begin with, Austria and Germany had been also one entity for hundreds of years. The idea of *Anschluss* had plausibility. Also, and this is hardly a quibble, Austria was not "invaded" in 1938 but was forced to capitulate in the face of internal subversion and an ultimatum which forced the establishment of a Nazi government. The circumstances of that capitulation may be instructive.

First of all, Austria was a country that had for all intents and purposes been torn by a civil war for many years. Its chancellor had been assassinated by the Nazis in 1934. Nazi Germany had been waging a systematic campaign of terror and intimidation across the well-established borderline. An "Austrian Legion" was maintained in Munich, consisting entirely of Austrian Nazis. When Austrian Nazi terrorists entered Austria from Germany, it could thus be pointed out that they were, after all, not Germans but Austrians.

Nazi terrorism in Austria was organized, financed, equipped and psychologically and politically supported from Germany. For years there had been bomb-throwings, assassinations, demonstrations, propaganda and even street fighting aided and abetted from across the border. But the parallel goes further: In the years after World War I, which had truncated their country, many Austrians considered themselves to be Germans. The idea that Austria was not a viable unit was held not only by Nazis. In 1919, Austria had sought to join Germany and had been prevented from doing so by the Western allies and the Little Entente. In 1931, an attempted customs union had been similarly prevented. So the "well-established line of national division" was a moot question in 1938.

But the parallel goes still further. Undoubtedly, the Austrian governments in the years before the *Anschluss,* headed first by Engelbert Dollfuss and then by Kurt von Schuschnigg, were not widely popular in their own country. They had beaten down the Austrian Social Democratic Party, had dissolved Parliament, and had instituted a mild form of Fascism. But if the authoritarianism of those Austrian governments made them unpopular, that did not mean that a majority of the Austrian population favored being taken over by the totalitarianism of Nazi Germany or by the noisy Austrian Nazi underground.

Austria, indeed, had been a weak political organism since the Treaty of St. Germain had reduced it to its German-speaking population. It had not made a success of democracy. The country had been torn by several internal conflicts. There were private armies vying with each other in the early thirties—the *Heimwehr,* the *Ostmärkische Sturmscharen,* the *Republikanischer Schutzbund,* as well as the Nazi SA and SS. I am not saying that these were equivalents of the Binh Xuyen, the Hoa Hao, and the Cao Dai. What I am pointing out is that the "invasion," that Professor Schlesinger sees as the proximate cause of Austria's end in 1938, was preceded by a situation that can, indeed, be compared in important respects to the situation in Vietnam, at least up to a point.

At the time that we are discussing, some Western liberals were acutely uncomfortable that the first intended victim of Hitler was not a pure democracy. They had sympathized with the Social Democrats, they had deplored the closing of Parliament, and they had been annoyed by Austria's close relationship with Mussolini's Italy which at that time (up to 1936) had been the only country prepared to defend the independence of Austria. And there were public opinion leaders in Western Europe, some of them liberals, who felt that in any event Austria was inevitably part of a legitimate German sphere of influence.

Yet, had the Austrians been free to declare their preference in an internationally controlled plebiscite, there is little doubt that a majority of them would have voted in favor of independence and against *Anschluss* with the Third Reich—not necessarily only out of Austrian patriotism but also because of their deep distaste for the far more brutal dictatorship that had been established on the other side of the dividing line. In the three-cornered situation (Nazis, Austrian rightists, and Social Democrats), the Social Democrats played a role somewhat like the Buddhists in Vietnam: they were profoundly unhappy about their own authoritarian govern-

a Historical Parallel

ment, they fervently wanted national peace and reform, they would have favored union with a free and democratic Germany, but they were prepared to fight for the independence of their country when confronted with the prospect of *Anschluss* with a Nazi Germany.

And the proof of this statement is found in Hitler's reaction when Schuschnigg announced his intention to hold a plebiscite on the subject of Austria's independence in March 1938. The German Chancellor was beside himself with rage, and Schuschnigg's move resulted in the ultimatum which Austria was forced to accept—forced, one might add, largely because none of the Western powers at that time was prepared to offer assistance in defending the country's independence. Hitler, of course, realized that a plebiscite would turn out differently according to who controlled it. But he would have rejected an internationally controlled plebiscite just as the Viet Minh rejected a UN-controlled election at Geneva, and for the same reason. (The circumstance that Hitler was an Austrian was just about as irrelevant in the Austria/Germany situation as the fact that Marshal Ky is a North Vietnamese is in the North/South Vietnam situation.)

As we look back today on that period, and as the Austrians look back upon it now, the Western powers and Austria's eastern neighbors bore a certain responsibility for what happened in 1938. If they had risen to the defense of Austria's independence *even in the face of the imperfections of the psychological and political situation of that country at that time,* they might just possibly have spared themselves much misery later. Certainly the argument that Austria was not a viable state—an idea that seemed self-evident in 1938—has been disproved by the developments of the last twelve years. The unity with Germany that seemed historically inevitable in 1938 seems almost an absurdity today.

Some of the parallels between Germany and Austria in 1938 and North and South Vietnam today are in the nature of historical oddities. Just as the North Vietnamese Lao Dong party elaborates the program for the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front, so the Austrian Nazi Party, while technically distinct *and occasionally even acting independently*, was in all important matters controlled by the German NSDAP. Like the Vietnamese National Liberation Front, the Austrian Nazis operated with a number of front men who were supposed to be acceptable to non-Nazis, e.g. the erstwhile governor of Styria, Anton Rintelen, and later the iniquitous Arthur Seyss-Inquart. What in the case of North Vietnam is known as the "Reunification Commission" of the Council of Ministers in Hanoi had its parallel, in 1938, in the State Secretariat for Austrian Affairs in the German government in Berlin. But the point of coordination between the German Nazi Party and its Austrian subsidiary was Munich, the seat of the "Austrian Legion" which, while it was a creation of Germany, consisted entirely of Austrian Nazis.

Did that make the Austrian Nazis mere stooges of Nazi Germany? It is an interesting question. This writer, who spent some years in Austria during the thirties, would be prepared to argue that many Austrian Nazis acted out of heartfelt conviction and patriotism as they then defined that term, which meant patriotism for the Greater German Reich. They were traitors to their country in the eyes of some of their countrymen, but in their own view they were idealistic fighters for a great cause and not foreign agents, even if they allowed themselves to be supported and controlled by Germany. They were, at any rate, a minority; and they could win their objective only with the help of pressure exerted by Austria's great German-speaking neighbor.

So what seems self-evident to Professor Schlesinger need not be accepted as self-evident by all of his readers, despite his excellent credentials as a historian. When he says, as he did in ENCOUNTER shortly after writing his piece for the NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, that "Vietnam was a single country up to a dozen years ago," this, too, should be taken with a grain of salt, for it brushes a little too lightly over the historical differences between Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina. The very fact that many people in South Vietnam complain that most of the government is made up of North Vietnamese is significant in that connection. The South Vietnamese differ from the more energetic and aggressive "Prussians" of the Tonkin delta country in ways that are reminiscent of the difference between the Austrians and Germans. In other words, people can share a common history, speak the same language, and even have the same basic aspirations for unity under certain circumstances—and still be significantly different and proud of that difference, as Austrians are today. The parallel with Austria and Germany is instructive, even if it is of course not conclusive.

"What then has history to offer the statesman?" asks Professor Schlesinger in the quoted article in ENCOUNTER (November 1966). And he answers the question: "Let me suggest first that the way to protect the policy-maker from the misuse of history is not to deprive him of historical knowledge altogether." And later: "The only antidote to a shallow knowledge of history is a deeper knowledge—the knowledge which produces not dogmatic certitude but diagnostic skill, not clairvoyance but insight." He says much more, and his article is well worth reading. His main point, that the study of history is as apt to mislead as it is to inform the day-to-day policy maker, may be accepted in its entirety. Our point here is merely that the sweeping rejection of historical parallel may sometimes be questionable if it is not grounded in a good understanding of the parallel that one wishes to reject. ■

A Comment on the War in Vietnam

JO W. SAXE

THE following brief account of the uneasy military and political equilibrium in Vietnam was written by one of the most distinguished students of that country. He is a historian and sociologist with a profound knowledge of the country, its people, and its history. He is a man of moderate and judicious views.

"None of the major problems of Vietnam—resistance to, or cooperation with, the Government; the influence of the Communists; the programs and the future of political parties; constitutional change—can be clearly understood unless they are seen from the perspective of the village. It is in the villages that the real life of the country goes on as it always has.

"In Vietnam, to cut off a number of urban centers from the rest of the country as we have done is rather like an amputation—grave but not fatal.

"The modern parts of city life belong to us. Once cut off from the countryside, the rural masses were cut off from activities in which they had begun to participate. They found themselves thrust back into their traditional environment, but they had never left it far behind. These people took up a sort of vegetable life in the villages which stretch to the horizon of the rice fields. This is the traditional human landscape of the country.

"Once the cities had been brought under control, the operations of our air and water borne troops proved beyond question that they could go wherever their commanders wished to send them. Except for a few occasions when they were outnumbered locally, either because reinforcements hadn't arrived, or because their movements or plans were based on faulty intelligence, we have kept this advantage. But this superiority has not brought the political solution which we were seeking by mounting these operations. It seems further away because these policies have resulted in our troops taking the place of the Vietnamese national forces. And only that army, which is yet to become an effective force, is, we believe, able to pacify the country.

"Although our troops have demonstrated that they can go anywhere, anytime, when operations are well planned, and when they displayed the courage and initiative which they have so regularly shown, the maps and the recent history of this war (even though we are winning it) oblige us to admit that we have not stabilized the situation in the areas we have occupied, except in some of the cities. This situation is extremely grave, not only because our credibility is at stake, but because our occupation of an area reveals to the enemy who are our allies. When we pull out, they are destroyed."

This was written in the very early nineteen fifties by Paul Mus, Professor at Yale University and at the Collège de France. From 1945 to 1948 he, with one or two others, was the principal envoy from the French Government to Ho Chi Minh.

The book, "Viet-Nam: Sociologie d'Une Guerre," to which these are the introductory passages was published in 1952. It is a remarkable study of the French attempt at reconquest after the Second World War in the context of the history and society of the Vietnamese people and the French community there.

Mus wrote the book to explain to himself what had happened during that brief, crucial period when he was at the center of events. As he says, he had seen an order in which he had lived all his early years (his father was Professeur de Lycée in Hanoi and he grew up there) completely destroyed and he wished to understand why and how this had happened. Unfortunately the book has never been translated. It is difficult reading in French, but it is worth very considerable effort. In the view of many who know the country and its problems, it was and remains uniquely valuable. Mus comes to no concrete conclusions except the conclusion which can so easily be inferred from these introductory passages—the war, he believed, could not be lost, but it could not be won in any military sense of that term. ■

State Gallery of the Viceroy of Don-Nai

THE *Imaginary Voyage* OF BUI-VIEN

GEORGE G. WYNNE

WHEN DID the United States and that small country in Southeast Asia half a world away first become aware of each other? There is no doubt as to the identity of the first American visitor to Vietnam. He was John White, Master of the brig *Franklin* of Salem, Massachusetts. Captain White, a former Lieutenant in the US Navy, took the *Franklin* out of Salem January 2, 1819 on a trading expedition to the China Sea. When the hurricane-battered brig returned to her berth 19 months later under a makeshift rig, her hold filled with all the sugar in Saigon's warehouses, she had become in Captain White's words "the first American ship that ever ascended the Don-Nai river and displayed the Stars and Stripes before the city of Saigon."

White was an astute observer and kept a meticulous account of his impressions on that pioneering trip. They were published by subscription in 1823 in Boston as a substantial volume of 372 pages titled: "History of a Voyage to the China Sea." Copies of this travel classic that brings to life a Vietnam barely touched by the West and barely recognizable after a century and a half, are in the possession of the Library of Congress. The Peabody Museum in Salem, founded by the East India Marine Society in 1799, owns numerous trinkets and articles of everyday use brought back from Saigon by Captain White. These are unique in a way because nowhere in Saigon is a similar collection to be found.

White's observations are phrased with Yankee clarity and precision. They are a valuable historical document, but they have nothing of the intriguing mystery, confusion and ambiguity that surounds the visit of the first Vietnamese to the United States. According to Vietnamese history textbooks and a brochure published by the Ministry of Education under the promising title: "The Twain Did Meet," the Vietnamese to first set foot in America was Bui-Vien, a scholar-diplomat of the last century born in the province of Thai-Binh, of what is now North Vietnam. Bui-Vien rates a separate chapter in the history of his nation's initial contacts with the West and, though his mission to seek aid from the United States to counter French colonial expansion during the reign of Tu Duc (1848-1883) produced no tangible results, Bui-Vien is rated as a visionary hero and patriot. To the students of Vietnam he is held up as the first among his countrymen who ventured to cross the vast Pacific to open new horizons of progress and obtain the help that would enable his country to safeguard her independence.*

The trouble with this official account is that it cannot be substantiated. After research and correspondence extending

**The Bui-Vien mission even formed the subject of an exchange of toasts between the President and Vietnam's Chief of State at the Guam Conference in March 1967.*

over a year I am now led to the conclusion that the Bui-Vien mission, though stated to have taken place only in 1873—less than a hundred years ago, and well within the period of accurate historical records—belongs more in the realm of fantasy than historical fact.

Except for the Ministry Brochure published in 1961 as a record of first contacts between Vietnam and the United States, none of the source material on the Bui-Vien mission is available in languages other than Vietnamese. Earliest and most extensive of the available sources is a book written in the 1940s in Hanoi by Phan Tran Chuc and published posthumously in 1952.* It is devoted entirely to Bui-Vien's mission to the US and according to the foreword was intended to be the first of a series on Vietnamese diplomatic relations.

However, the author, who was known as a novelist and popular writer in his native North Vietnam, rather than as a historian, died in 1945 before he could accomplish his task and the book contains no original source citations.

It does, however, contain some extraordinary statements considering that it was written a mere twenty years ago and if its statements concerning American history are indicative of its general accuracy on the Bui-Vien mission, one is led to question whether the scholar-patriot really existed.

According to the Phan Tran Chuc history, Bui-Vien left Vietnam in the 26th year of Tu Duc's reign (1873) loaded with gold coin, food supplies, sheaves of congratulatory poems by fellow mandarins, and a personal exhortation by the Emperor to acquire new knowledge abroad and seek help for the cause of Vietnam's independence. At a solemn regal audience at the pagoda of Mount Thuy-Van overlooking the sea near the old imperial capital of Hue, Emperor Tu Duc gave his emissary this parting bit of advice: "Do not be careless in speech that would reveal our weakness to foreigners; do not be thrifty in your expenditures, this would vilify our prestige."

Who was Bui-Vien and why was he picked by the Emperor for the responsible mission of mobilizing advice and support abroad to counter the French threat to the country's independence? According to the history, the emissary came from a family of scholars and obtained high academic distinction at the Imperial Academy of Letters at Hue. He became assistant to minister Le Tuan who achieved success in leading government troops against the Yellow and Black Flag bandits. His appreciative protector afterwards had him appointed commissioner for the development of the port of Hai-Phong. It was there that Bui-Vien came in contact with the world beyond Vietnam and developed plans for the modernization of government administration and the technology required to prevail against the French. Emperor Tu Duc approved and sent Bui-Vien off on his mission.

Author Chuc states that in the summer of 1873 Bui-Vien and a band of loyal followers left Vietnam in a small wooden ship that promptly ran into a typhoon but made it to Hong Kong ten days later. There he was impressed by the abundant evidence of western technical accomplishment, the steamships, electric lights and efficient ways of dressing and doing business pursued by the strangers from the West who made their home in Hong Kong. Through some Chinese scholars Bui-Vien got to know an American Consul who spoke Chinese perfectly, had long lived in Hong Kong and had a Chinese mother. They quickly made friends, exchanged poetry and confided in each other. The American consul, not further identified in Chuc's account, advised Bui-Vien to undertake the long voyage to Washington and place his country's case before (sic) "the Commander in Chief Lincoln who had recently unified North and South America and had brought the country to an unprecedented level of prosperity."

The fact that this account of early diplomatic relations between Vietnam and the US published in 1952, purportedly as a scholarly work, speaks of a Vietnamese mission to President Lincoln in 1873 when in fact Lincoln had by then been dead for eight years, does not reflect credit on the scholarship involved in its preparation. Nor does the half-Chinese American consul who exchanges Chinese calligraphic poems with new-won Vietnamese friend and counsels him to lay his case before Lincoln, seem very credible.

The history proceeds with the American consul furnishing Bui-Vien with letters of recommendation "to a dear friend who was a close associate of Commander in Chief Lincoln" pledging eternal friendship and making plans for a joint visit by boat "to all four continents" when their official duties had terminated. Armed with these letters of introduction and the remainder of his purse, Bui-Vien embarked for Yokohama aboard a Japanese vessel, went on to Tokyo and then to San Francisco *and Washington* (sic) with an American trading ship."

The Vietnamese envoy spent almost a year in Washington waiting and hoping for an audience before being received by President Lincoln (note: this still in 1873), but he put his wait to good advantage by visiting and observing life in the big cities of America. Finally, he was received by a sympathetic Lincoln who promised American support without hesitation because he wanted to respond for humanitarian reasons to the urgent entreaties of the far-off country. At the same time he saw in the Vietnamese request an opportunity to compete with the European powers in the colonization of the Far East.

But there was a rub. According to historian Chuc, Bui-Vien did not have with him official Letters of Credence addressed to the American President, as he had not known when he left Vietnam that his mission would finish in Washington. President Lincoln reportedly said regretfully that he could do nothing without the presentation of proper credentials by Bui-Vien and the latter left for the court of Hue promising to obtain the required letters from the Emperor and return with them to Washington.

He reached his homeland without difficulty, obtained from Emperor Tu Duc full powers to negotiate an American assistance treaty, despite some opposition from jealous mandarins, and he returned to America soon thereafter. The account does not say how soon but infers that it was the following year (1874). On setting foot for the second time on American soil Bui-Vien heard the tragic news that "President had been struck down by the hand of an unknown assassin" (sic). The success that was within his grasp thus eluded Bui-Vien and he returned to Vietnam empty-handed. He stopped off in Yokohama again and there by chance ran into his American friend from Hong Kong who had heard that Lincoln had been assassinated but did not think this would have affected Bui-Vien's mission.

The two exchanged more poems of friendship and regret at their imminent parting "my spiritual companion when will we be together again in the same sampan?" reads one line. On arriving at Hue, Bui-Vien got the news that his mother had died, and it was with a double sense of failure and tragedy that he presented himself before the Emperor. Tu Duc received him kindly, wrote a testimonial in his own hand, and bestowed high honors and government jobs on the returned diplomat who lived on until 1878 as director of the Imperial Customs Service.

Another similarly fanciful version of the Bui-Vien mission is given in Professor Nguyen Huyen Anh's directory of Vietnamese historical figures,** published in 1960 in Saigon. Here, too, source citations are missing. Allowed to go to China to develop trade, Bui-Vien, according to this version, got acquainted with the American consul in Hong Kong and planned to request US aid to stop French aggression. Back

**Bui-Vien voi Chinh Phu My by Phan Tran Chuc, Hanoi, 1952.*

***Vietnam Danh Nhan Tu Dien by Nguyen Huyen Anh, Saigon, 1960.*

home he realized that Emperor Tu Duc was far from enthusiastic about his proposal, so he forged letters of credence and fabricated for himself the court costume and hat of a third degree mandarin, returning to Hong Kong to set sail for America with his US friend. There he was received by President Ulysses S. Grant who promised him support because at the time America was in conflict with Napoleon III over the installation by the French of the Emperor Maximilian in Mexico. (Note: This would put the Bui-Vien mission into the period of 1865-67, when Andrew Johnson was President.) But on receiving the presidential pledge of support our self-appointed envoy became apprehensive over his fabricated credentials and advised the US government that he had to return home to submit the proposed treaty for the Emperor's approval. The US agreed and sent along a representative for a first hand report on the situation in Vietnam.

On arriving at Hue, Bui-Vien threw himself at the mercy of the Emperor who pardoned him after listening to his confession of unauthorized negotiations with the US, and appointed him to head a diplomatic mission to conclude the proposed pact of friendship and assistance with the United States. In the meanwhile, though, the political situation in America had changed and there was no longer any interest in involvement with the affairs of Vietnam. As a pretext for refusing intervention the Vietnamese mission headed by Bui-Vien purportedly was asked by the US government to return with two million quan* to finance the military expedition.

On his return home, Bui-Vien was assigned by Tu Duc as director of the Customs Service and later nominated Director General of the National Transportation Service. In this capacity he organized the merchant fleet, and a service of marine soldiers to protect state supplies in transit against the pirates who infested the China Sea.

The most recent account is the official Ministry brochure published in 1961 which follows the Phan Tran Chuc history in all essentials including his arrival in Washington early in 1873, except that it substitutes an encounter with President Grant for the impossible meeting with Lincoln who was shot eight years earlier.** Obviously, the author, more familiar with American history, replaced, without further checking, Lincoln's name with that of the presidential incumbent in 1873, i.e. U.S. Grant. A few embellishments are added for literary and possibly political considerations. The Ministry account states: "At last he arrived in Washington. After the protracted and difficult matter of going through channels, during which Bui-Vien displayed great tact and patience, he was formally received by President Grant. The Vietnamese patriot was assured of American interest and assistance, provided he would present credentials which would enable President Grant to justify to the American Congress any action he might undertake in Vietnam's behalf. Bui-Vien left for home to ask the Emperor Tu Duc to provide him with the all-important diplomatic documents. On his way, he was informed, however, that new political circumstances would not permit the President to give the assistance he had promised, and Bui-Vien, sad at heart, saw his dream of American aid for Vietnam fade away. If he were living today, he would have seen his dream come true after all."

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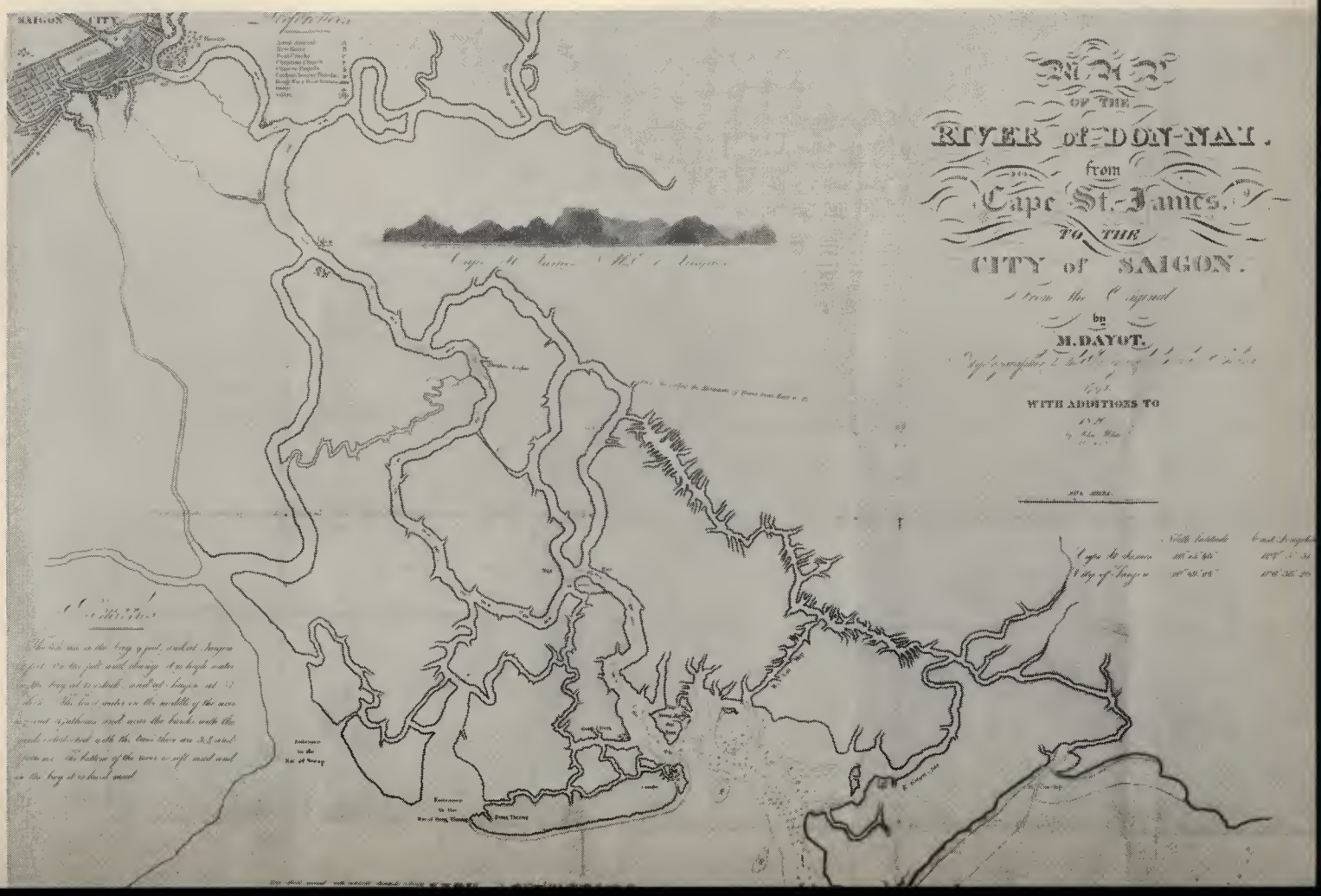
**A quan of ten tayen (of sixty sapeks each) was held to be worth about half a dollar each. Two million quan would have been about one million dollars of the time.*

***The Twain Did Meet; First Contacts Between Viet Nam and the U.S.; Department of National Education, Saigon, 1961.*



An Early Proposal to REORGANIZE the Department of State

HAROLD D. LANGLEY

For more than a half century after it was created, the Department of State was a department of clerks. Foreign affairs were the personal functions of the Secretary of State and the President. The staff of the department kept the records and supplied information as needed. Since the responsibilities of the Department included domestic duties as well as those relating to foreign affairs, the various clerks performed a variety of tasks under the supervision of the Chief Clerk. As the consular and diplomatic appointees of the Department grew, and as foreign relations became more important and demanding, various Secretaries hoped either to shed the domestic responsibilities or get more help for the demands of foreign affairs. But Congress was slow to recognize the problem and slower still to approve plans for reorganization. The approval of President Andrew Jackson in 1833 made it possible for the Secretary of State to divide the Department into seven bureaus: Diplomatic; Consular; Home; Archives, Laws and Commissions; Pardons and Remissions, Copyrights, and Library; Disbursing and Superintending; and Translating and Miscellaneous. But it was not until 1853 that Congress gave the Secretary some help by establishing the office of Assistant Secretary.

In view of these developments it is significant that the first comprehensive plan for the reorganization of the Department of State, placing a greater emphasis on foreign affairs, was published and circulated by a judge as early as 1825. To fully appreciate it, one must remember that a new sense of nationality, nurtured in the dark days of the War of 1812, was flowering. It was fed by a fresh surge of people to newly opened territories in the West. This was a time when some individuals and politicians became aware of the potentialities of Federal power, and the importance of controlling its dispensation. John Quincy Adams was in the White House. He believed that Federal funds should be expended for internal improvements, the construction of a national observatory, and the establishment of a national university. On Capitol Hill, some members of Congress thought that before money was appropriated for the promotion of agriculture, arts and sciences, manufactures, and roads and canals, they should first establish a Home Department to supervise such projects. A resolution to this effect was introduced in the House in 1825, but was defeated. But the subject was not dead. Any discussion of a new executive department to handle domestic affairs touched the existing responsibilities of the State Department. A few persons saw in this situation a chance to establish two departments with clear-cut responsibilities, one in domestic, the other in foreign affairs. One such person was A. B. Woodward, who first submitted his ideas to a Washington newspaper in the spring of 1824.

Who was A. B. Woodward? Official Washington and older citizens of the District of Columbia needed no special introduction to Augustus Brevoort Woodward. Born to a Philadelphia family, exposed to a good liberal education, he became a lawyer and a resident of Rockbridge and Alexandria, Virginia. He was attracted to the utilitarian thought of Jeremy Bentham, and was a strong admirer of Thomas Jefferson. Plans for the new Federal City of Washington attracted his interest, and as early as the spring of 1797 he was investing in lands there. Within a few years he moved to Washington. In 1802 he was elected by the property owners of the District as a member of the council that advised the presidentially appointed mayor. After a year he returned to his law practice. He continued to deal in real estate and maintained an interest in civic affairs. When the Michigan Territory was opened for settlement in 1805, he was one of the three judges sent there with the territorial governor. In the new territories any two of these three judges constituted a court that had common law jurisdiction. For the next 19 years Woodward helped to bring justice to Michigan. Near the end of this period there arose some opposition to his reappointment to the bench. He was accused of holding court in such places as a clerk's house, a tavern, or on a woodpile. It was alleged that he liked to hear the opposing arguments while holding a glass of brandy. Some charged that he was often intoxicated. These charges were not proved, but President John Quincy Adams thought it advisable not to reappoint him. Instead Woodward was appointed the judge of a district in Florida. Between his Michigan and Florida assignments he was in Washington. Here he had an opportunity to become acquainted with the problems of the Government and the proposals for a Home Department. His

own contributions to the discussion took the form of a series of articles in the NATIONAL JOURNAL, a Washington newspaper, in the spring of 1824. These were published in pamphlet form in 1825 under the title: "The Presidency of the United States."

The pamphlet consisted of a brief sketch of the Presidency, a lengthy discourse on the evils of the existing Executive Government, and a plea for a reorganization of the Executive Departments. There were then five Cabinet posts: Treasury, State, War, Navy and Attorney General. If Woodward had his way these would be reorganized into four: Revenue, War, Domestic Affairs, and Foreign Affairs. He did not think it necessary to talk about the duties of his departments of Revenue and War. But he took pains to describe the organization and functions of the Departments of Domestic and Foreign Affairs. Both of these would affect the existing organization of the State Department.

Woodward argued for the removal from State of such domestic responsibilities as the preservation of public papers, the printing and distribution of the laws of Congress, and the supervision of the patent office. His Department of Domestic Affairs would take charge of all of these things as well as the arts, science, agriculture, manufactures, internal commerce, internal improvements, copyrights, weights and measures, the survey and distribution of public lands, Indians, the mail, justice, and public economy. With all of these matters being handled by five bureaus in the new Domestic Affairs Department, the way would be cleared to reorganize the State Department.

The State Department was to be renamed the Department of Foreign Affairs and organized on the principle of language and geographical association into eight bureaus. Each bureau would be in charge of an Under Secretary. The first and primary bureau would be concerned with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and its dependencies. Woodward believed that Britain and the United States shared "a fine and noble language," despite "the barbarism of its orthography," that was destined to cover a good portion of the world. In addition to a common language, the ties of blood, religion, manners, jurisprudence, political institutions, and commerce would "strengthen and multiply the relations likely to subsist between them."

The second bureau would be devoted to France, her colonial dependencies, and all countries using the French language. He praised France as our ally in the Revolutionary War and for her power, courage, "her elegant language and literature, and her universal refinement," all of which combined to make her "the second object of exterior attention to this Republic."

Woodward's proposal for a third bureau embraced Spain, Majorca, Minorca, Iviza, the Philippine Islands, the Spanish islands in the Atlantic Ocean, all the countries of South America except Brazil, and in general all countries using the Spanish language.

The use of the Portuguese language was to be the criteria for organizing the fourth bureau. This would deal with Portugal, Brazil, Goa, Macao, Madeira and other Portuguese possessions.

Handling the relations of the United States with Austria, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Prussia, Hanover, Hamburg, the Duchy of Mecklenburg Schwerin, and Russia's possessions in North America would be the responsibility of the fifth Bureau. The rationalization for this arrangement was the "Germanic tongue and the cognate languages" used by the "vast population in the interior and North of Europe. . . ." As Woodward saw it, "our commerce with those regions has not yet received all the attention it merits."

Switzerland, Tuscany, Upper Italy, Naples, Sardinia, Sicily, the Netherlands and its possessions in Batavia and the Moluccas would all be the concern of the sixth bureau.

Another grouping of Greece, Turkey, Egypt, Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, Algiers, Africa in general, and Mohammedan countries accessible by way of the Mediterranean made up the seventh bureau. Well aware that Greece was then fighting Turkey for her independence, Woodward wrote that:

> The emancipation of Greece is pregnant with consequences dear to the human race—peculiarly dear to America. Our Mediterranean commerce will become highly interesting to us, as soon as the nations environing that sea shall have come to a state of repose. Our mediation between the metropolis of the Bosphorus and that of the Morea, might save the effusion of much blood.

The eighth and last bureau would deal with China, the areas of India outside of British jurisdiction, Persia, Arabia, and Asia in general. Woodward predicted that American relations with Asia would become more important. Since 1811 the United States had a fur trading post at Astoria, Oregon, the first permanent settlement along the lower part of the Columbia River. He believed that before much longer the United States would have its Navy vessels on the Pacific coast, and that they would sail from Astoria to China and other parts of Asia. The United States Government should be ready for that day. "We should be prompt to impress deeper the favorable sentiments already bestowed on us in advance by the Court of Pekin, disregarding the vexatious scruples of a vain and silly etiquette; and our commercial relations with Asia will soon deserve to be considered under an aspect entirely new."

While looking ahead to a time of increased commercial relations with other parts of the world, we should appreciate that the "existing commercial greatness of North America is not yet well understood even in the country itself." Any investigation of that commerce would show "how eminent we already are; how incalculably growing are our resources; and what are the means necessary to protect, and to advance our interests." Therefore, if we fail to make use of our advantages "on account of any little expense attached to the initiatory and preparatory measures; if we neglect to secure for our country the capacities which nature and Providence have offered her; if, in short, we sacrifice the permanent pre-eminence of the North American United States to the prosperity of more vigilant and spirited nations; we shall be guilty of a criminal abandonment of duty, which will not escape the censure of history," nor bitter self reproach. Such being the case, the United States should not shrink from the establishment and development of a well organized and active Department of Domestic Affairs, and "an industrious and well informed Department of Foreign Affairs." We must also develop and sustain "a diplomacy, so comprehensive and extensive as to be commensurate only with the nations that inhabit the globe. . . ."

The proposed reorganization of the State Department would require some additional outlay of money, as Woodward well understood, and he planned to meet the problem head on. He wanted the Under Secretaries in charge of each bureau paid in relation to the importance of the work of the bureau. Thus the Under Secretary in charge of the first, or British bureau would be paid $2,000 a year; the head of the second, or French bureau, would draw 1,800; the Under Secretary of the third, or Spanish bureau, would receive $1,600 a year. The compensations of the Under Secretaries of the other bureaus would be as follows: Portuguese bureau —$1,200; Baltic and Germanic Bureau—$1,400; Batavian and Italian bureau—$1,000; the Ottoman bureau—$800; and the Oriental bureau—$600. The total outlay for the salaries of the Under Secretaries would be $10,400 a year. To fully appreciate the significance of these figures it is necessary to understand that the salary of the Secretary of State at that time was $6,000. The staff of the Department then consisted

(*Continued on page* 48)

EDITORIALS

Trade and Aid

THIS editorial is being written just after the Senate has voted to set appropriations at the level of authorization previously established by both Houses. While this still represents a substantial cut of the President's original request, it is considerably better than the House version of the appropriations bill which was substantially below the authorized level. Let us hope that the Conference Committee will agree on the Senate's figures. Extreme protectionist measures that had been proposed also appear dead for the first session of the 90th Congress.

Our foreign aid and liberal trade policies have greatly benefited the United States in the last two decades. Our aid has buttressed the Free World and helped to maintain stability in many developing countries. Our trade policies have resulted in greatly increased American exports, with all the benefits they bring to American industry and labor. These policies have helped other peoples as well. Many have used our aid effectively to promote their own security and economic growth. Our import market has stimulated export industries in many countries. In short these policies have achieved what enlightened self-interest calls for. And the world is better for them.

Why now a reaction against them? To be sure, our domestic needs are great, and the war in Vietnam a tremendous burden. But the cuts in aid represent only about two weeks' expenditure on the war. And a protectionist trade policy would cost us dearly in lost exports.

It is not surprising that the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL supports the present Administration on these matters. Professionals in foreign affairs know well how interdependent the nations of the world have become. They know of the growing gap between the rich and poor of the world and how much dangerous instability this growing gap can cause. In the final analysis the best defense the United States has is not through arms alone, but helping the poorer nations to attack the social and economic ills that beset them. We hope that the United States will continue its past trade and aid policies and not bow to the winds of a new isolationism. ■

Let Them Eat Cake?

THERE was a strong and palpable sense of occasion on November 30 in the Benjamin Franklin state dining room. A full capacity attendance at the AFSA monthly luncheon listened with quiet absorption to the words of the man who had coordinated the 1963 civil rights march on Washington.

The man was Walter Fauntroy and what he had to say to the American Foreign Service Association was blunt, disturbing, and full of well-informed, provocative, partisan fervor. The Reverend Mr. Fauntroy was speaking about the problems and prospects for the Negro majority of the population of the Nation's Capital. The analysis he gave has equal pertinence for every community in America where the crisis of inner-city poverty collides with what the Vice Chairman of the City Council calls the phenomenon of "urban removal."

Mr. Fauntroy gave his AFSA listeners an unequivocal picture of what the imperatives are. His scorn for the advocates of competing priorities in domestic resource allocation is epitomized in his penetratingly sarcastic use of the slogan "socialism for the rich and capitalism for the poor."

There is no need to spell out the relevance of Mr. Fauntroy's AFSA address to the conduct of foreign affairs. The AFSA Board of Directors had invited the new Mayor-Commissioner (for whom Mr. Fauntroy substituted) because the members of the Association collectively and individually are deeply concerned about the conditions of life in our cities and particularly in our capital city.

Washington is the home town of the Foreign Service and most of us will spend more of our adult lives here than anywhere else. Apart from our involvement as residents or citizens of Washington, we have a professional concern for the city's role as host to thousands of foreign visitors whose attitudes toward the United States are affected by what they see and experience here.

Many members of the Association have individually made a deep commitment of their time and spirit to the varied opportunities for service in the "inner city." The Association's new Board of Directors decided some weeks ago to seek ways and means to facilitate further involvement of its members and to put the resources of the AFSA organization to work in the interests of disadvantaged Americans.

A senior Foreign Service officer is actively consulting, on behalf of AFSA, with federal and local agencies and with non-governmental groups on the most effective channels for Foreign Service participation. One of the most immediately apparent opportunities lies with the underprivileged Puerto Rican population. The reservoir of Spanish-speaking foreign affairs officers is uniquely equipped to help in this field. Other fields of service will become clearer as the AFSA consultations progress.

Walter Fauntroy's speech has given a welcome impetus to what hopefully will be increasingly close relations between the Washington City government and the American Foreign Service Association. His message was a forceful reminder that the problems of our cities won't wait. ■

A Shifting of Gears

IT IS, of course, clear to even the astigmatic that quite astonishing changes are taking place in American society. One illustration is the increasingly militant attitude of professional groups such as teachers. Once content with modest objectives, sought cautiously and somewhat fearfully, they now are seeking a voice in policy-shaping in addition to greater economic benefits for their members. Are there implications for the Foreign Service Assoication? We suspect there are. The Association is, after all, an employee organization whose charter lists as a prime objective the advancement of the welfare of its members. We therefore are awaiting, with a great deal of interest, the outcome of the current deliberations by the President's Review Committee on Employee Organizations and Agency Management. Its recommendations are likely to set the tone of employee-management relations in the Federal Government for years to come. We hope that the Committee will suggest pragmatic means through which organizations such as the Foreign Service Association, while maintaining their integrity as groupings of professionals, will be permitted to play a more active role. We perceive no sound reason for tamely abdicating the advocate's role to labor unions which, vital as they are on such matters as pay increases, do not lay the same stress on some of our other important objectives. Professional organizations such as ours, which actively seek the enhancement of professional goals and standards at the same time as they try to promote the welfare of their members, constitute a genuine asset to the Federal Government. ■

Two-Way Communication

With the new monthly centerfold sheet of Association news, the JOURNAL hopes to generate more effective two-way AFSA communication with posts abroad. AFSA wants your comments about the new directions the Association is taking. Where AFSA chapters are being organized in the field, group discussion in response will enhance communications. There and elsewhere, individual views are always welcome, addressed to the Association or to the particular AFSA committee working on the subject. ■

Association News

What AFSA means to Foy Kohler

Following is the text of President Kohler's message to the Association addressed to the Chairman of the Board of Directors on December 9:

December 9, 1967

Dear Lannon:

The time has come when I must, with great regret, submit to you my resignation from the office of the President of the American Foreign Service Association.

I agreed to undertake a second term as President with some private hesitation, since there was little question in my own mind that I would be in retirement before two years had passed. I am glad now that I did not refuse election. The three short months that we have served the Association and its members together have been exciting and satisfying, and I am tremendously pleased to have been associated with you. The energy, imagination and, above all else, the dedication you and your colleagues on the Board of Directors have brought to the idea that the Association should be a vital force in the foreign affairs community are deeply impressive.

I have frequently been asked in recent months what the new leadership of the Association portends and why I agreed to be a part of it. It seems to me that the answer breaks into three parts.

First, I believe the time has come—as it seems to do every twenty years—when we must step back and take a critical look at the institutions with which we are familiar and comfortable. I think we must ask ourselves whether they are as pertinent to the world of 1967 as they were to the world of 1946, or whether the passage of time and the distortions of *ad hoc* responses to emergent problems don't suggest that we should be considering new solutions. I think we should. And I very much hope that the Career Principles Committee will be making specific recommendations to follow on its excellent interim report. When it does, I hope the Association will move vigorously to urge its recommendations upon those at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue who can do something about them.

Second, I am delighted that the leadership of the Association is so determined to advance the welfare of its members. I think there has already been a change in the manner in which the Association is perceived by the senior officers of the various foreign affairs agencies: I am confident this change will lead to meaningful consultations on matters of interest to the Board and to the entire membership.

Third, I think the leadership of the Association deserves the highest marks for having placed so much emphasis on programs which will encourage greater creativity, intellectual courage and integrity among the membership. The AFSA awards program which has been announced to the field is, in my opinion, a landmark in public service. It is commonly accepted that we should reward outstanding performance: I hope that as a result of the Association's efforts it will soon be equally common to reward the original idea, the reasoned dissent and the act of bureaucratic courage.

Finally, it should be clear from what I have said that my sadness in leaving the Foreign Service after 36 years is tempered by my faith in its future. Your dedication reflects its dedication; your energies are a measure of its energies; your willingness to take some risks for a cause of importance sets a standard to which many can repair. This goes for the Board and its associates, and for Philip Habib as our new President.

The public's business is in good hands.

Sincerely,
FOY D. KOHLER

What Foy Kohler Means to AFSA

WITH the unanimous approbation of the AFSA Board, Chairman Lannon Walker addressed the following remarks to retiring President Foy Kohler at the December 8 board meeting:

Mr. President:

There are many emotions and sentiments at work at this moment and they all add up to one wellspring of pride. Pride in you as a distinguished American. Pride in you as an exponent of all that is best in the Foreign Service. Pride in the inspiration and leadership you have given to generations of Americans working in the foreign affairs field. Pride in the encouragement and guidance you have given us toward new and courageous directions for the American Foreign Service Association. Pride for each of us personally, the officers, directors and staff of the Association, who will carry with us throughout our careers the luster of being able to say: "I worked with Foy Kohler."

And confidence too. Confidence drawn from the manner in which you have conducted your professional duties as a public servant. Confidence in the future conduct of our foreign relations because of the impact of your influence and counsel. Confidence gained from the style and manner of your formal retirement. Confidence because your experience and interest will continue to be available to the nation, to the Government, and to the Association.

With so much pride and so much confidence, there is little room left for the sadness of saying "au revoir." Who can be sad when we pipe a great captain ashore with full sails and colors flying?

We simply say "bon voyage" to you on your new cruise into scholarly waters. There will always be a berth for you and an open invitation to come and sail with us again.

Low Rank Hath Its Privileges

The AFSA Board of Directors has taken steps to insure that junior members can take advantage of the new AFSA Club in Washington. The Board has invited officers at the FSO-6, 7, and 8 and equivalent levels to join the Association and the Club for a package price of $15 a year. Since AFSA dues for junior officers are $12 a year, the effect is to offer Club membership at a token price of $3. AFSA members at junior levels who had already signed up for the $35 Club membership will receive an adjustment.

Architectural plans for the new Club facilities at 2101 "E" Street were presented to the AFSA Board on December 1.

An AFSA—Argyris Seminar

The first of a series of informal AFSA-sponsored seminars to discuss Department and Foreign Service issues took place in New State on the morning of November 9. President Foy Kohler presided with Dr. Chris Argyris, Professor of Industrial Administration at Yale, as the guest speaker. Some 50 other participants included special guests, former and present AFSA Board members, members of the Career Principles Committee, and FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL readers who had written letters on the Argyris Report. Departmental leadership was represented by John Steeves, Joseph Palmer, George Allen, Frazer Wilkins, Herman Pollack, and H. G. Torbert. The presence of most of the "group of 18" provided a representative "Young Turk" element. Wallace McClenahan gave the viewpoint of a former public member.

The Seminar was convened to hear Dr. Argyris's views on new approaches and techniques for organizational problems in a rapidly changing world and then to discuss those ideas in terms of the foreign affairs community. Dr. Argyris's remarks on the importance of the mutual trust factor to productive organizational relationships, the realization of fuller employee potential through greater participation in the policy and decision making process, the desirability for change and reform to come from within an organization rather than being imposed from the outside, and the need of support from the top for the achievement of innovation and renewal, evoked a spirited give and take on how and to what extent points made by Dr. Argyris could be applied to the direction of foreign affairs. Are the same openness and frankness in office relations that have proved profitable in private enterprise possible in the foreign affairs profession dealing with life and death matters of national security?

In the foreign affairs hierarchy, can greater *laissez-faire* for the individual in the assignment, promotion, efficiency rating and personnel systems be applied as experimentation has proved is feasible in the private sector? How can the intangible output of a foreign affairs organization be measured in terms of operating efficiency in contrast to the business world where the margin of profit provides a yardstick? These and other questions evoked a provocative dialogue in which a variety of opinions found expresssion. No definitive answers were found. None were sought, but alternative systems were explored, old problems were viewed in new light, new problems were revealed in old contexts and trains of thought were set in motion that can eventually find realization in an invigorated and dynamic foreign affairs service.

The American Foreign Service Association is grateful to Dr. Argyris for the time and effort he contributed to the Association's quest for ways and means to give structure to the process of change both within AFSA and throughout the foreign affairs community.

The usefulness of the AFSA-Argyris Seminar argues for similar explorations of other problems confronting the Association and the community today.

AFSA Activities in Brief

The AFSA Board is studying the proposal by its Legal Committee that a single, non-profit organization be set up to receive donations and to administer the Scholarship Fund, the new Awards Program, and the proposed Seminar series and other forms of endowment. Under the draft articles of incorporation, the American Foreign Service *Foundation* would be established "to advance, promote, foster, support, protect, and defend in all lawful, legitimate and appropriate ways the interests of the United States, of its foreign policy, of the Foreign Service of the United States, of the American Foreign Service Association, and of the individual members of said Foreign Service of the United States and/or of the American Foreign Service Association, their dependents and beneficiaries . . ." Management of the Foundation would be through a Board of Directors elected by the AFSA Board.

Members of the Board and officers of the Association met with Mr. Idar Rimestad, Deputy Under Secretary for Administration and members of his staff, early in December to discuss the Association's concern that meaningful, prior consultations be held on any policy or administrative actions which affect the excellence, welfare and morale of the Service. Mr. Rimestad agreed that this should occur.

JFSOC At Work and At Play

The Junior Foreign Service Officers Club decided to give a party and make it a wine and cheese tasting event. But it wanted a different party, and the difference should not be just a question of the kinds of wines and the variety of cheeses. Georgetown's "M" Street Mod area was the locale and, the American Council of Young Political Leaders were the co-hosts. This group has a membership which is largely composed of Senate and House staff members along with a number of young Members of Congress, and is a friendly blend of the Young Democrats and Young Republicans. Congressmen and ranking Department officers mingled with the young politicians and diplomats.

Records blared over the public address. A movie screen in one corner flashed scenes that matched the records. A gilded bathtub suspended from the ceiling seemed to be vibrating rhythmically. Two Go-Go girls took turns demonstrating how it should be done. A few courageous souls ventured onto the postage-stamp-sized dance floor and tried it themselves. Serious conversation was impossible.

Getting any wine or cheese required the talents of a skinny acrobat able to thread his way through an obstacle course of elbows and toes. And still people came. And nobody wanted to go home.

It could have continued all night. But, fortunately for the work that was waiting to be done the next day, the Whiskey à Go-Go had to open at its regular hour to its usual clientele. The wines and cheeses were put away, the tables and chairs redeemed from storage, and people reluctantly went into the cold wintry night.

It had been different, and it had been fun! It had also been in the JFSOC tradition of imagination and energy.

One of the more solemn objectives of the Club is the promotion of professional and social contacts with counterpart officers of the foreign embassies in Washington. The Club gives an annual Independence Day Reception for over a thousand young diplomats and others, which this year took place at the Smithsonian's new Museum of History and Technology. JFSOC co-sponsors with the International Junior Diplomats in Washington the International Junior Diplomats Ball in late winter, monthly informal luncheons and dinners held at various Washington restaurants, and occasional parties such as a New Zealand lamb roast and Potomac cruises, as well as the Whiskey à Go-Go party.

As a professional organization, the JFSOC Club is now completing a comprehensive study of the backgrounds, aspirations, and motivations of the younger FSOs. Lengthy questionnaires completed by about 600 junior FSOs are now being prepared for analysis on the computers of American University. Said to be the first in-depth study of any agency's young officers, the JFSOC survey has created quite a bit of interest in government personnel and university circles. JFSOC expects to be able to publish the results in the near future.

Congressional Reaction to Career Principles Committee Report

A number of Congressmen have commented favorably on the floor of the House and Senate on the AFSA Career Principles Committee report and asked that the full report be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Representative Clement J. Zablocki, member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs called the report a "remarkable document," while commending it to the attention of Congress. He added that on the basis of his experience spanning nearly two decades, he believed that "the lucid and forward looking analysis of the largest and most pressing issues facing the Foreign Affairs community embodied in the interim report, should be read by other persons interested in the operations of our foreign policy."

Representative Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen, in asking that the report be placed in the RECORD, noted that the Committee had attempted to tackle some of the largest and most pressing issues which will be facing the Foreign Affairs community during the next decade. He said, "the Committee's statement of general propositions and first principles provides a promising base for studies and recommendations in this field."

Representative Dante B. Fascell commended the Committee for a "very thoughtful and indeed exciting interim report." Mr. Fascell, Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, pointed out that the findings and recommendations of the Career Principles Committee closely paralleled his sub-committee's views on such subjects as policy planning, allocation of resources and information handling in Foreign policy.

Speaking on the floor of the Senate, Senator Thomas H. Kuchel said that the Committee had pointed out that "America vitally needs a diplomatic organization broad enough to meet all the challenges of the modern world." He referred to the work of the Herter Commission and pointed out that the Career Principles Committee report sets as a goal, as did the Herter report, a Foreign Service of the United States—representing all of our people and all of our civilian national interests.

Various other Congressmen, including Representative David N. Henderson, Chairman of the Sub-committee on Manpower, and Civil Service, and Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations have expressed an interest in sitting down with the Association and exploring further the avenues opened by the report. A number of other Congressmen expressed appreciation for the report and a desire to be kept informed of further work by the Committee.

Changes Among AFSA Officeholders

Philip Habib succeeded to the AFSA presidency in accordance with Association by-laws upon the retirement of Foy Kohler, and Harry Lennon moved up to the first vice-presidency. Two new members of the Board of Directors have taken office to replace men who have been assigned to the field. Frank S. Wile succeeds Michael A. G. Michaud, now in Tehran, and Martin F. Herz takes the place on the Board held by L. Dean Brown, the new Ambassador to Senegal and The Gambia.

Ambassador Joseph C. Satterthwaite has accepted the AFSA Board's invitation to participate in its work as a non-voting member, representing the retired officer members of the Association.

On the JOURNAL Editorial Board, Daniel Newberry has become Chairman succeeding John H. Stutesman, Jr., whose resignation was announced in the December JOURNAL. S. I. Nadler is the new Vice Chairman, taking the place of Reed Harris, who will continue to serve the JOURNAL as Contributing Editor. Curtis Cutter has been appointed as a new member of the Editorial Board.

Mrs. Margaret S. Turkel has taken over the job of Executive Secretary at Association headquarters following the resignation of Mrs. Jane K. Stelle.

New Members—Board of Directors

Joseph C. Satterthwaite, FSO-CM Retired, has joined the AFSA Board as representative of the retired officer members of the Association. Although Ambassador Satterthwaite is a non-voting member of the Board, he is participating fully in its work.

Mr. Satterthwaite, at the time of his recent retirement, was Ambassador to the Republic of South Africa. He had served in the Foreign Service for more than 42 years. His more senior assignments were as Ambassador to Ceylon 1949-1953, Minister in Tangier 1953-55, Ambassador to Burma 1955-1957, Director General of the Foreign Service 1957-1958, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs 1958-1961.

Born in Tecumseh, Michigan, Ambassador Satterthwaite earned his bachelor's and master's and an honorary doctorate from his alma mater, the University of Michigan. He joined the Foreign Service in 1924.

Ambassador Satterthwaite and his wife, the former Leyla Ilbars, now make their home on Upton Street in Northwest Washington.

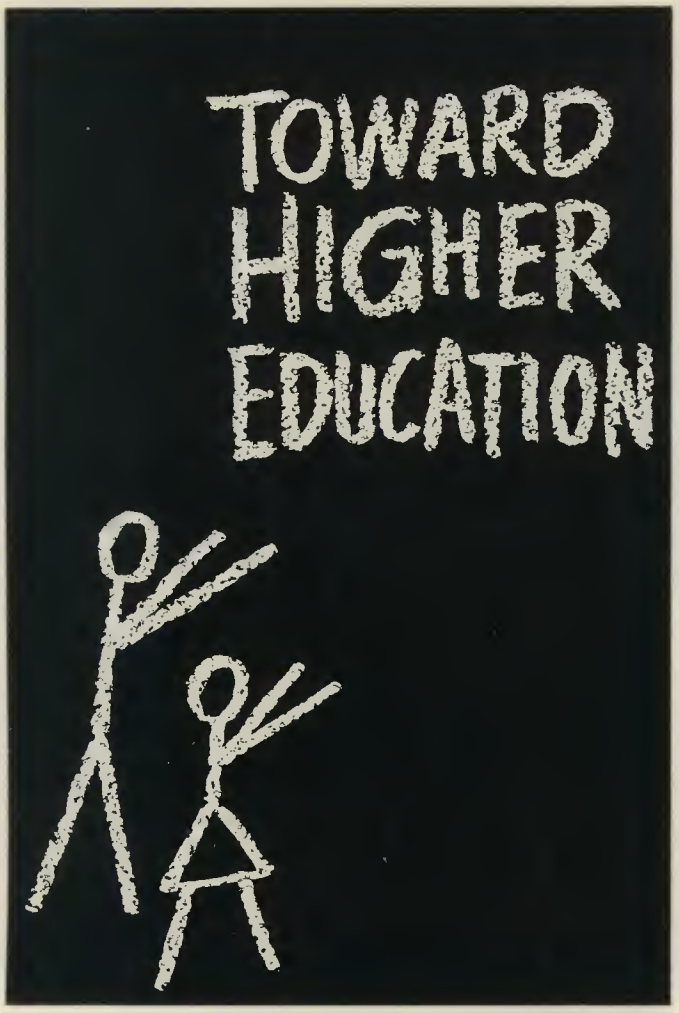
Born in Michigan, Frank Sloan Wile received his AB from Princeton in 1949 and entered the Service immediately thereafter as a FSS-13. He was converted to FSO-6 in 1950 having had to be dragged back from Port-of-Spain to Washington for Basic Officers' training. Successive assignments to Rotterdam, Monrovia, Washington and Amsterdam exposed him to work in the consular, economic, political desk and commercial fields. On his second Washington tour since August, 1965, he is serving as Chief of the Economic/Commercial Career Management Branch of the Mid-Career Officer Program where as he puts it "It so often seems to me, I am promoting the interest of my enemies and knifing my friends."

New Member—Journal Board

Curtis Cutter has been in the Foreign Service since 1957.

His first post was Cambodia, followed by a tour in IO working on colonial problems. During that tour he served as a member of the US delegation to the UN and also has been a member of the US delegation to the Trusteeship Council and 5th South Pacific Conference. From 1962-65 he served in Lima and from 1965-67 he was officer in charge of Peruvian Affairs.

He is currently serving as Special Assistant to the US Representative to the OAS and as a member of the US delegation to the OAS.



The three R's are no longer enough (even when the fourth R, rioting) is added. But the cost of higher education is zooming. The past 25 years have seen tuition costs go up, up, up, sixfold in many cases.

The American Foreign Service Association's scholarship program is designed to help Foreign Service children through their undergraduate years. The awards are made on a sliding scale basis varying between $300 and $1000 depending on the degree of need, as determined by the Educational Consultant's confidential review of financial statements.

The Committee on Education will be sending out scholarship applications for the 1968-69 school year this month. Requests for applications will be filled promptly.

Memorial Scholarships. Many of our members have supported this worthy cause regularly with donations both small and large. Others who might be so inclined hesitate to contribute now the substantial sum needed to endow a scholarship on a permanent basis. Why not consider adding a codicil to your will setting up a bequest for such a memorial scholarship? Information on request.

President Foy D. Kohler and Chairman Lannon Walker at the farewell luncheon given by the Board of Directors at DACOR House in early December.

AFSA Committees

Principal AFSA committees now at work and their chairmen:

AFSA Club ..... *Gardner Palmer*
Awards ..... *Dwight Cramer*
Career Principles ..... *Graham Martin*
Community Service ..... *Robert O. Blake*
Education ..... *Irving Cheslaw*
Finance ..... *Gardner Palmer*
Legal ..... *Richard C. Hagan*
Memorial Plaque ..... *Robert Newbegin*
Public Relations ..... *Marshall Wright*
Retired Officers ..... *Joseph C. Satterthwaite*
Welfare ..... *John W. McDonald, Jr.*

Reviewers Needed

The JOURNAL has copies of some volumes which await a willing reviewer. Any reader interested in reviewing any of the following please call the JOURNAL.

Enter Gambia, by Berkeley Rice
Presidents and Peons, by Serafino Romaldi
Warren, The Man, The Court, The Era, by John D. Weaver
Urdu Grammar and Reader, by Ernest Bender
Hindi Grammar and Reader, by Ernest Bender
The Battle for Rhodesia, by Douglas Reed
Dan Bara, by Stanhope White

Review copies become the property of the book reviewer.

Dear Lannon:

The Senate passed S-633 November 14, 1967 at 2:10 p.m. yesterday afternoon. This bill, sponsored by Senator Pell, is an important step toward establishing a career service for the foreign service officers in the US Information Agency. If the House of Representatives takes favorable action this spring, the US foreign service will be closer to the goal of equitable career service opportunities for its informational and cultural officers.

On behalf of my colleagues in the USIA foreign service, I want to express my gratitude to you and the American Foreign Service Association for your support for the Senate bill. The Association's support was tangible evidence of its backing of administrative progress for this Agency and for the foreign service as a whole.

R. T. CURRAN
Special Assistant to the Director

The coffee breaks afforded an opportunity for renewal of acquaintances while . . .

Service Glimpses

FOREIGN SERVICE DAY

Foreign Service Day, November 2 and 3, 1967, offered a variety of experiences to participants. Welcomes, awards, briefings, reunions, receptions featured the well-planned and fully-scheduled two days which brought retired Foreign Service officers back to the Department of State and into contact with their fellows and with those still active.

The halls of New State found groups of active and retired officers in animated discussion . . .

and Joseph Palmer 2nd, Assistant Secretary of State, briefed the conferees on Problems in Africa . . . earlier Ambassador at Large W. Averell Harriman presented President Johnson's message . . . and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, member, Policy Planning Council, gave the long-range objectives of foreign policy.

WASHINGTON LETTER

by LOREN CARROLL

Oh, the long and dreary winter!
Oh, the cold and cruel winter!

Longfellow: Hiawatha

Winter, 1967-68. Some of it is behind us, some ahead of us. But there are some consolations. Let us list them solemnly:

The season of leaf-raking is finished. Rakes and other tools are in the cellar. All except the snow shovel. That went into swift use on November 29 when a fierce snowstorm crashed down on Washington. About eight inches. As usual consternation spread through the capital. However, in the next few days the snow melted and a lull fell on the landscape. Those who like to squander their time listening to the Metropolitan Opera Saturday broadcasts or engaging in other devilry could now do so with a clear conscience. The squirrels lay doggo—all except those in Lafayette Square and Farragut Square, etc., who were incited to tiresome behavior by tourists who brought big bags of provisions. Would that these squirrel and pigeon fanciers would carry off, say, a dozen of each per car, back to Joplin, Missouri, or Fergus Falls, Minnesota.

Christmas shopping is over. It lasted a long time and for many was a drain on the spirit as well as the purse. If you want to get ahead of the mobs these days, you must start your shopping early in July. On the very day after Thanksgiving the manager of a jewelry department in a department store gazed at the swirling mobs around her and said soberly, "This is the official opening of the Christmas shopping season." It sounded as if Congress had passed a law. By nightfall it seemed so, indeed. Traffic was tied into knots. Buses were jammed. People were an hour late getting back to Silver Spring or Alexandria. This nonsense lasted, mysteriously, a whole month. How can people spend a whole month buying gifts? How do they come to acquire so many friends —500?—600?—that merit gifts? Where do they find the money to indulge in such munificence? One cynic looked around a crowded bus and said, "They don't go to shops to buy. They are simply idle people who lack all imagination and don't know what to do with their time. The only enjoyment they have is prowling through shops." The mystery remains. Why doesn't a student do his Ph.D thesis on the mystery of Christmas shopping?

Oh yes, the Christmas tree has been thrown out. And this after much lively debate on who trimmed it and who, therefore, should dismantle it.

More Money in the Bag

It happened during one of those periodical snow crises in Washington. The electricity had gone off, extinguishing the lights, furnace and hot water. He sat in front of the fireplace. On the mantel burned the one and only candle in the house. He said to his wife in a tone of mild gloom: "In Africa you could accept discomfort but now to think we've come home to this!"

His eye fell on a headline. "Pay Rise Voted by Senate." A cheering note for a Foreign Service officer. The light was too dim to read the 8-point type but he knew it by heart anyway. The Senate had just passed the pay rise that the House had passed ten weeks earlier. It seemed certain now that every Foreign Service check would soon show a 4.5 per cent rise, retroactive to October 1. This would be followed by a minimum rise of three per cent in July, 1968 and an average seven per cent on July 1, 1969, to bring salaries up to pay levels in private industry.

Nothing to crow about but still 4.5 per cent was 4.5 per cent.

He began to riffle through advertisements and catalogues which were easier to read than the 8-point type.

He dozed and he dreamed. Through his brain ran a procession of all those articles he had noticed in THE NEW YORKER, the newspaper advertisements and the catalogues. In 15 minutes he spent $500 more than the pay rise would bring him in a year. Here are some of the articles he acquired in the dream:

A pocket portable pepper mill (guaranteed to make anyone a favorite with hostesses). An electric clothes brush. A bottle of Christian Dior after-shave lotion called "Eau Sauvage" (praised in the advertisement as "virile, discreet, fresh.") A clock with a W. C. Fields face. A "Home Wine Making Kit," permitting one to brew up cheap quantities of Montrachet and Château Margaux in the cellar—"up to 400 gallons per batch." A "Martini Spike," an ingenious device with a dial that would enable bartenders to squirt out the vermouth in the most precise proportions. A portable coffee or tea cooler, no more of that tedious sitting around waiting for boiling liquids to cool. "Saves burned tongues and dispositions."

Now, mind you, this happened to a strong, rugged character in a mere 15 minutes. Let it be a lesson to all beneficiaries of the 4.5 pay rise. Wait till you hear it jingling in your pocket. And then think, think! Proceed cautiously before you dispose of any of it.

Wickedness and Showoffery

The turkey is finished off and there will be no more family polemics on the best way of serving up left-overs. Talking turkey reminded us that a certain lawlessness manifested itself during the holidays. Many householders, knowing full well that the national bird is mandatory, according to the law, elected to skip turkey and eat something else. One martini was enough to set them loose. "*We* are having roast beef." Or perhaps it was lobster, or quail or chicken livers parmigiana, or even some nasty fish dish they learned to make while they were stationed in Mugwampia. Flaunting their disregard to the law! Those who are old enough to remember the Prohibition Era know that those who obeyed the law and eschewed the booze never talked about it. But the scofflaws, a word favored by President Hoover, never stopped bragging about their exploits with bathtub gin, mountain dew and other forms of iniquity. And today we see—sometimes three in a block—what that lawlessness produced. But back to turkey. The police could curb the lawless attitude toward the national bird if they would go up to a few kitchens, selected at random, and say firmly, "What have you got in that oven?" If people get away with this violation of the law, God knows what they will try next!

"Glamorous Pieces of Madness"

Most Christmas gifts have now been stored away and forgotten but many recipients seem, inexplicably, to harbor grievances.

Would you be unhappy if a rich friend spent $2,000 on you and sent you "a replica of an old-time office safe concealing a complete bar with ice-box, etc." all ready for installation

in your stylish drawing room or library? Two recipients of this *objet* were disgruntled. Yet the seller had described it and similar whimsies as "glamorous pieces of madness." It was created for those "who already own a wooden Indian and a steam locomotive."

Another disgruntled recipient received a raincoat made of cotton poplin with a detachable lining of mink paws. And this set the buyer back by $560.

More displeasure was manifested by those who received an automatic french fry cutter, a booze flask that looks like a transistor and an electric clock that looks like a ticker tape. The recipient of the flask said primly that she didn't fancy people who ran around the streets with either flask or transistor. And the recipient of the clock said he unwrapped it on a day the market was behaving in a deplorably bearish way and he couldn't stand the sight of even a phony ticker tape.

Some people would never be pleased even if you gave them a steamheated igloo.

Rebels Against Society

What they call beatniks in other countries:

England: mods
France: zazous
Sweden: raggaren or mascots
The Netherlands: provos
Italy: zazzeroni
Russia: stilyaji
Germany: gammler
Austria: halbstarke
Spain: gamberros

Social Menace

Holiday SIN! The complaint was registered with Mary Haworth and divers other authorities on morals. Many wives wrote to complain that once their husbands got caught up in a holiday office party they skittered off into immoral behavior lasting, in some cases, several days. The NEW YORK TIMES meditated on this important topic and produced a long, well-documented article on the office party. One advertising executive seemed to sum up the mood:

"Office parties are a mess! Daddy gets drunk and Mommy gets mad. Instead of a New Year's party we are giving a fair for children of employees and serving lollipops along with the entertainment."

Other firms reported that the office parties had been abolished or tidied up. No more booze. As decorous as an Epworth League picnic.

Washington Letter delved into the situation in Washington but all the office parties we learned about were models of propriety. Perhaps our intelligence services are faulty but no evidence of sin came to life. The only suggestion that something of the old times may survive in some offices came out in a purely adventitious way. A very serious executive of a corporation, now in his early sixties, was dwelling at length on the perplexing character of a junior executive. "I never could figure out what made him tick till one day I picked up something enlightening from a secretary from the warehouse who happened to be sitting on my knee at the office party. The minute I heard the remark I said to myself, 'Ah, there is the clue.' " He went on pursuing the solution of the junior executive's behavior and there was never a breathing spell in which one might have interpolated, "What? Are you in the habit of holding warehouse secretaries on your knee?" or "Were many other executive knees occupied by secretaries?"

And so—with all these grave thoughts thronging around in our heads we lunged into another year—another year with, no doubt, even graver problems facing us.

Award

At least 45 years ago a young reporter, sent to cover a Woman's Christian Temperance Union convention, discovered that the ladies were passing out booklets containing recipes for alcohol-less cocktails. It is a great pleasure to record that after four decades, this laudable custom still prevails. A little research work has dredged up the latest productions of the Union and these contain a wide variety of drinks guaranteed to keep everyone on the road. There are, for instance, the cranberry cocktail, the banana cocktail, and the Catawba cocktail. To give you an idea, to make a Catawba you place several ice cubes in a large old-fashioned glass. Add a dash of lime juice. Garnish with a cherry and a slice of orange. Fill with Meier's Still Catawba Grape Juice. Equally interesting, obviously, and equally easy to make are spiced apricot (spiced, not spiked) punch, Diplomat's Lemon Tea, Pick-Me-Up, Winter Cheer, Frosted Rainbow and Tomato-Cucumber Cooler. And dozens more—so many that if you took up a new one every evening it would keep you off the gargle for years and years.

For maintaining a valiant tradition the WCTU gets the January award.

Peaks on Parnassus

What is the most beautiful line in all world literature? Here is another candidate.

ὁ βίος βραχύς, ἡ δὲ Τεχνη μακρή

Hippocrates: Aphorisms. Translated by Chaucer. *(The life so short, the craft so long to learn)*

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

S. I. Nadler

"If Arlington is good enough for all the others, why do Arabic area studies have to be on location?"

REPRESENTATION ALLOWANCES AND THE *Coronation of a Tsar*

Энтертейнит ин Рашия:

EVA McKAY

WHILE doing some research on the life of Nicholas II, I came across a cheery little volume aptly called "In Joyful Russia." This is a somewhat naive book which records the impressions of one John A. Logan, Jr., an American, who attended the coronation of Nicholas II, the last Romanov. The author gives a rambling but excellent description of his experiences in Russia for the three week festivities preceding and following this spectacular event. In spite of the fact that Russia in 1896 was what we today would term an "underdeveloped country," its sense of pageantry and love of pomp out-glittered that of the more sophisticated and posturing Austrian Court. Verily, the trappings of the wealthy Russians were far more brilliant and lavish than those observed in other European countries.

The author successfully veils just what his role at the coronation involved or if, indeed, he had a role. From the book it appears that his only connection with Russia seemed to be that his mother was also attending the event and that he himself had bred and sold horses to the Imperial Government. From an old WHO'S WHO it evolves that Mama was the widow of a US Senator and Army officer. In her own right she was a journalist of some note. The evasive author of "In Joyful Russia" is listed as a Major in the US Army. (Sadly, he lived not long after his Russian adventure, dying in 1899 at San Jacinto.) An interesting point which adds intrigue to his status is that his wife and family were left behind in Paris while he undertook the journey to Russia.

But leaving speculation aside, he made an appeal for representation that I would commend to the attention of our Budget Officers in their incessant search for new ways to impress Congress. His plea for adequate representation is such a classic it bears repeating, which will shortly be done.

Now, imagine a coronation in that land of ceremony—the Russia of the Tsar! The Moscow[1] decorations, particularly the night illuminations, were unrivaled and the author does not even compare them with the Chicago World's Fair fireworks. Turbanned and aigretted subjects of the Tsar bedecked in cloth of gold and Lancers and Hussars, magnificently accoutered, whirled through the streets. Grand ladies, bedecked with fabulous jewels minced from salon to salon in exquisite Parisian finery. Parties galore were given—each outvying the other for opulence—and indeed, the more opulent, the more prominent the guest list. Grand Duchess Olga in her book of memoirs mentions the fact that the Tsar and Tsarina attended a ball given by the French Ambassador for which the French Government had gone to immense expense. (To such great expense that Their Highnesses were loath not to appear in spite of a terrible disaster that occurred that morning on a field outside of town and claimed about 2,000 lives.) Tapestries and plate and vanloads of ancient and priceless treasures were brought across Europe from Versailles and Fontainebleau. To top it all, 10,000 roses were shipped from the South of France. The French Ambassador, the Marquis de Montebello, rented one of the showplaces of Moscow for his coronation stay, the Sheremetiev Palace, so enormous that it contained its own private chapel. This splendid house served as an admirable foil for Louis XIV Gobelins and some furniture that once belonged to Marie Antoinette.

Another splendid affair was that given by the German Ambassador, Count Radolin, which was enhanced by the presence of Grand Duke Vladimir (his son was the claimant to the non-existent Romanov throne in 1924). Not to be outdone by the French, the plate used by Count Radolin was especially lent by the German Emperor.

The Austrian Ambassador, Prince Lichtenstein, was also down for a ball and had shipped to his rented palace his family's precious tapestries so the palace walls would not be bare. He was, however, forced to cancel his show owing to an Austrian archducal death.

And what was the American Government's contribution to the festivities in honor of the mighty Tsar? I find no evidence that we did anything worth recording. The above examples, however, are repeated over and over again in books pertaining to the social history of Russia during that period. All accounts of the coronation which I have read do not even mention the presence of Americans. But let Mr. Logan's classical account wrench the heart:

"In speaking of the representatives of foreign nations, I shall be forgiven, I am sure, by every patriotic American, if I comment upon the fact that the display made by our own Government at the crowning of the Tsar was quite out of proportion to the size, importance, and wealth of the United States. Add to this the facts that Russia is a country with which we have always lived on terms of cordial amity, and that it was the only one of all Europe that maintained a friendly and sympathetic attitude to us during our own internecine strife, and I think it will be agreed that we might have been much more liberal in our representation and expenditure at this function without compromising in the least our position as a republic or our neutrality regarding foreign affairs. Our Minister at the Imperial Court, the Honorable Clifton R. Breckinridge, is a delightful and thoroughly representative American, and certainly Mrs. Breckinridge supports him with dignity and grace. Admiral Selfridge is a naval officer of splendid record, one calculated to do honour to our country wherever he may represent it, and accompanied by his personal staff of six charming fellows, all creditable representatives of their service, redeemed America from an obscure position among the visiting embassies.

"Small in comparison as our representation was, the beggarly appropriation that was made ($5,000) was even in greater contrast to that of other foreign powers. There was no petty principality in Europe or Asia that did not treat its representatives with more generosity. Republican simplicity is all very well in its way, but I submit that self-respect is quite as important a factor in a nation's life. If we are going to send representatives to such functions at all, it would be a wise

(*Continued on page* 46)

[1] The Russian capital was St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) but the Tsars were traditionally crowned in Moscow.

THE PROTOCOL OF *Party-Giving:* THE RUSSIAN POSITION

THOMAS A. DONOVAN

In recent times, few observers wonder any longer whether the Department and the Foreign Service are up to their job. The vigor of our response to the unorthodox challenges of our age is evident to nearly everyone. And in the management of our own internal affairs, everybody knows of the zeal with which we have embraced the most advanced managerial techniques.

This happy picture is flawed, however, in two important particulars. First, there is the suspicion in some quarters that we still attach undue importance to protocol. There is the belief, in other words, that we are too hidebound in our attachment to the rules of diplomatic etiquette. And, as a related though lesser question, there is the problem of alcohol. Must we, that is, always be serving wine when we go about our diplomatic business with foreigners?

It is good news indeed, therefore, that evidence has come to light showing that the Soviets seem now to be moving toward our way of life in these spheres. This is a new thing, for it used to be that the Russians would never own up to any belief in the virtues of diplomatic protocol. That some of them practiced it now and then was not to be denied. But they never let on what they were doing and they were uncomfortable (or some of them were) when they went about it. We see this in Arthur Koestler's description, in his novel, "Darkness at Noon," of the briefing on Soviet diplomatic protocol given to ex-Commissar of the People N. S. Rubashov:

> Rubashov needed some time to get used to his new way of life; it amused him that he now had a diplomatic passport, which was even authentic and in his own name; that in formal clothes, he had to take part in receptions . . . He understood that in the bourgeois world one had to be representative and play their game, but he considered that the game was played rather too well here, so that it was hardly possible to distinguish appearance from reality. When the First Secretary of the legation drew Rubashov's attention to certain necessary changes in his dress and in his style of living—the First Secretary had before the Revolution forged money in the service of the Party—he did not do this in a comradely, humorous way, but with such underlined consideration and tact that the scene became embarrassing and got on Rubashov's nerves.

But this was a long time ago, and Rubashov is on the dust pile of history. We now have, at long last, an authoritative text charting the distance the Soviets have come since those grim days of the past. It is the recently available "Fundamentals of Diplomatic Service," by V. A. Zorin, the present Soviet Ambassador to France and a former Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister. In this work, it may not be too much to say, the Soviet author and career diplomat makes clear that the elements of professional diplomatic expertise are everywhere much the same.

Some doubts, to be sure, may still remain. We may rejoice that the Soviets intend to compete with us peacefully on the fields of protocol and party-giving. But we must not relax our vigilance. We must continue to keep the Soviet diplomatic service under close observation, before we can be sure that all is as it seems to be. We will still have to make our own annual defenses of the representation allowance. JOURNAL readers, meanwhile, may judge for themselves how matters stand, from this translation I have made of Ambassador Zorin's account of how the Soviets see this important subject.

Diplomatic Receptions . . .

Before each reception, lists are made out of the invited guests, so that the inviting side may see to it that attendance from its side is roughly equal to that from the guests' side (this is of particular importance in organizing small receptions, lunches and dinners where there has to be a particular seating of all of the guests about the table). Invitations are sent out well in advance, usually not later than one week to five days beforehand. They indicate, in a particular manner, the place and time of the function, as well as the form of dress (usually morning suit, smoking, white tie and tails, and uniform). Women invited to receptions held before eight o'clock usually wear short dresses or suits. After eight o'clock, they wear long (evening) dresses. These invitations usually indicate that replies are desired (this is of particular significance for invitations to lunches and dinners where a table seating plan is required).

For each reception, the appropriate dining room has to be made ready, a menu drawn up, the tableware laid out in a particular manner, and a seating plan for all guests made in accordance with their ranks and the nature of the conversations which will take place during the function. It is well known that at lunches or dinners attended by men only, the principal guest is seated at the right of the host and the second-ranking guest at his left. If guests are invited with their wives, the principal guest is seated at the right of the hostess, and the wife of the principal guest at the host's right. Each person's place at the table is shown by a small card with his or her name, and a table seating plan is placed on a small table near the entrance to the dining room for the information of the guests. While guests are assembling, light wine is served to them. During a luncheon or dinner, serving proceeds in a definite order—courses are served in the first place to the women and to the principal guest, and then to the remaining guests, from their left.

Speeches are usually delivered at official dinners and luncheons, and also at receptions honoring visiting governmental delegations, chiefs of state, and heads of government (as a rule the speeches are by the host at the reception and the main guest). In view of the importance of speeches for the political relations of the two sides and of the possibility that they would be published, it is accepted that texts are exchanged beforehand and prior agreement also made about their publication.

There are numerous details about service at receptions and rules of etiquette, which are generally accepted in international protocol practice and are observed in all countries. In Soviet diplomatic practice, however, it is necessary to keep in mind that the rules of protocol and etiquette are seen primarily from the point of view of their political effectiveness and with regard to the national characteristics and traditions of those foreign representatives with whom Soviet diplomats have relations. The Soviet diplomatic service puts the various rules of protocol into practice flexibly and tactfully and, in the application of particular protocol procedures, does not overlook the basic tasks with which Soviet diplomacy is confronted. ■

Poems

G. LEWIS JONES

MOSCOW

Even the snow
Now falling
In gentle flakes
Gives added mystery—
Mask upon mask:
Absolute and impermeable.

ZAGORSK

The swallows swirl about the gilded
domes
Much as they did when God resided
here:
And Rublev limned him tall in gold and
red.
Below, slow-moving, darkly still they
come
The mourning women who will not
believe
That God is gone—and, even less, is
dead.

PRAGUE

Icebergs melt slowly—so will this regime.
Warmed by the sun, some tiny rivers
spawn
From driplets of exposed and surface ice
But deep within there's cold—

THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

No Ariel here:
No "vexed Bermoothes."
A softer place with
Warmer, blander sun.
Had he but known,
Where would his mind have run?
Would Shakespeare's eye
Poetic come to see
A fair Miranda on the Waikiki?

BUDAPEST REVISITED

The grey streets are unchanged
Except for empty areas where once stood
Other grey buildings—now no more.

The people are changed.
They have the inwardness
Of those cherishing sorrow.

I cannot remember color
Except for one white steamer,
A reconstructed house on the Var,
And a gypsy woman.

I can remember clangorous trains
And a violin played by a shiny-bald musician
Getting union rates.

People here are a kind of living elegy.
For things past (which are real)
And for the inevitability of frustrations to come.

I detected
Not one lyric note: I saw no birds.

SPASO

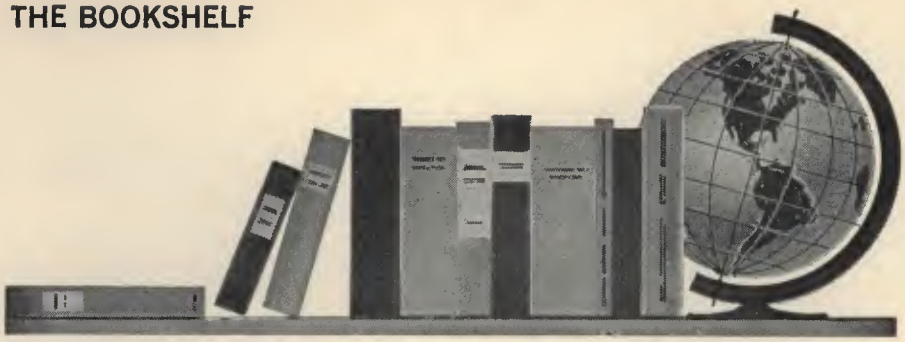
The great house broods contentedly
Snugly refurbished. Alien hands
Have treated it with love and it responds
Within such limits as things Russian can.

FROM DELPHI

The coals are on the altar;
Herbs in place.
Their stupefying scent begins to rise
And I am oracle!
What can I say?
No thought occurs
Save smoke is in my eyes.

And still they wait—
Expectant worshipers.
They want my lips to part
And give them light.
Light from this sterile mind!
From sightless second sight?

THE BOOKSHELF



The Kennan Memoirs

BY all standards of diplomatic autobiography, the "Memoirs" are without question a work of unusual distinction. There is not, surely, in the whole modern library of books by retired diplomats (American or foreign), another quite equal to this one in gracefulness of expression, honesty of spirit, and seriousness of purpose.

If, then, I go on to record a degree of disappointment with the book, it is not for lack of appreciation of its many merits. It is disappointment, rather, that Mr. Kennan chose to make the "Memoirs" a narrowly professional autobiography, treating at great length the broader issues of American foreign policy and giving only a minimum of intimate personal detail.

One is grateful, certainly, for the picture of the young Vice Consul making his way forward in his career, depressed one day and hopeful another. But one wonders, as the book moves along, whether its author, for all of the entries in his personal diary, was always as self-observant as a good autobiographer should be. How was it, for example, that Mr. Kennan was so often surprised and puzzled, as he says he was, at his troubles with the Department? How was it, in other words, that the author's marvelously penetrating insights into the dynamics of other societies seem so often to have left him ill-equipped to take the political measure of his own Service and his own society?

For when one considers Mr. Kennan's career as it is here described, the surprise is that it all worked out as well as it did. The miracle, even, is that he didn't find himself shunted off to the side long before Messrs. Acheson and Dulles individually decided he was not indispensable. How much patience, after all, have the generality of Foreign Service superiors ever had for troublesome subordinates who insist on writing long unsolicited analytical papers on high political themes, instead of minding their daily press summaries? As we read the "Memoirs," our surprise, if you will, is at Mr. Kennan's own surprise, then and now, at the incomprehension facing him on so many sides.

This weakness of the "Memoirs," considered solely as autobiography, is in some measure a self-imposed one. It is the result, perhaps, of the author's ultimate acceptance of the conventional standards of his original Foreign Service career. One must keep the diplomatic record straight, as it were, but with dignity, reserve, and an austere avoidance of personal controversy.

This makes for smooth and even narrative, but it leaves the reader with a sense that the whole story of Mr. Kennan's career and of the professional environment in which he worked has not been told. Hardly anywhere, except in the flagrant case of Ambassador Joseph Davies, are we given evidence of the incompetence or malice of particular associates and superiors. His silence on an early personal and professional crisis, only hinted at in the "Memoirs," illustrates this. Were his disappointments as a beginning vice consul at Hamburg in 1927, when he decided for a time that the Service was not for him after all, the result of unreal career expectations, or of simple bad luck in finding himself under an ignorant and unsympathetic superior? Or could these, and other disappointments elsewhere, have possibly been an almost inevitable outcome for the kind of person Mr. Kennan was and is—in the Department, the Service, and the world as it was and is? Mr. Kennan does not say.

At the end of the "Memoirs," therefore, though we are vastly in his debt for the book as it is, we still have as many questions about his career as we had at the outset. For we have been denied an adequate portion of the kind of revealing personal detail about the author, the period and the profession which Mr. Kennan used to such advantage in his historical writings, and which he could so well have given us here. But perhaps these are matters which will be gone into further in the next volume of the "Memoirs."

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

MEMOIRS, 1925-1950, *by George F. Kennan. Little, Brown & Co., $10.00.*

Vietnam Simply and Not so Simply

VIETNAM SIMPLY is no ordinary book on Vietnam. It was not written by a war correspondent from the viewpoint of G. I. Joe. It is the personal narrative of a young naval officer—a parachutist, a frogman, and a diver—who recently served in Vietnam. His feelings and experiences there, recorded each day, are now set forth in verse: very free *vers libre* and in a style that ranges from Carl Sandburg and Vachel Lindsay to "pop poetry."

Dick Shea's insights are presented tersely, elliptically, and pointedly. He writes of many things: things Vietnamese and things American, things amusing and things moving. There is much humor and satire, and some sex and scatology. His gamut is wide, as the titles of some pieces may suggest: "i brief admirals and generals on my job out here," "inside the buddhist temple," "caught a social disease," "vietnam is wild," "this is actually a good war for the americans," "saw diplomat," *et cetera.*

One of his pieces may stir visceral memories among those Foreign Service people who, in the interests of furthering international friendship and cementing worthwhile contacts, have dined and drunk well and disastrously:

"spent night
in wild painful ecstasy
on white porcelain plumbing
with stomach throbbing
head aching
and mind repentant
am well now
and trying to avoid
foreign related
social pressures
that induce me to partake
of wild rice rum
and diarrhea foods."

If you've been in Vietnam or expect to go there or want to share some of the Vietnam experience with those back home, you might like to buy this book. It's different.

Mary McCarthy's personal testament on Vietnam is entitled simply: "Vietnam." It is Mary McCarthy, the acidulous critic, All Over The Vietnam Front—and all in High-Style prose. If you read what she did to her Vassar classmates in "The Group" or to her faculty colleagues in another college in "The Groves of Academe," you'll know what to expect. As she

says, "I confess that when I went to Vietnam early last February I was looking for material damaging to the American interest and that I found it. . . ."

If you missed her reactions to Vietnam in "The New York Review Of Books," perhaps you might want to read about them in this paperback compilation, to which has been appended 20 pages of her "Solutions." Whether this feature is sort of a book dividend, *a coup de grâce,* or just for laughs, is unclear. Anyway, it's her last word, and that's something to which every lady is entitled—whatever it is.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

VIETNAM SIMPLY, *by Richard H. Shea (dick shea). The Pro Tem Publishers, Box 237, Coronado, California 92118.*
VIETNAM, *by Mary McCarthy. Harcourt, Brace & World, $1.95.*

Asia—Twenty Years Ago and Now

HAROLD ISAACS has written, in 1967, a brilliant introduction to this reprint of his "No Peace for Asia," first published in 1947. The contrasts in style and outlook between what he wrote twenty years ago and what he writes now are startling and illuminating.

He, no doubt, would be the first to regret that the title of this book—"No Peace for Asia"—still has relevance. He desperately regretted, in 1947, that "The war's end brought the beginning of a new pattern, not of peace, but of power." He thought then that many Americans saw Asia by "looking not Westward across the Pacific but Eastward, as though it lay across the Atlantic, filling the vast dimness of the world beyond Europe." He passionately believed America missed an opportunity in Southeast Asia because it allegedly stood aside as the colonial powers returned to their domains. Isaacs had a wide view of our choices and this strand in his thinking lingers on.

In 1947 Isaacs thought that the Soviet Union and the US would be the main protagonists on the battleground of China. He, like many others, did not foresee that the new Communist regime in Peking would become "a major contender in its own right for mastery in Asia" and that "the Chinese split with the Russians" would complete "the breakdown of the monolithic Communist power structure . . ."

Isaacs says now that "I have learned, to put it most simply, not to be so total about anything." And with declining dogmatism has come a wholly new perspective: "It was a conclusion that nothing in world politics promised more than the promise of the open society in America and that nothing could better serve this country in its relations with the rest of the world than the swiftest achievement of that goal at home." This, to him, does not seem to be a rationale for withdrawal from the world, but rather the path to fulfillment.

This look at Asia twenty years ago should help us peer ahead and take a new view of our future role and interests in Asia.

Robert Karr McCabe's "Storm Over Asia" is a cool, low-key contrast to Isaacs' cry of hope and despair. McCabe moves like a pro through the countries of Southeast Asia, sketching their history, their current problems, and his own experiences in them as NEWSWEEK's Bureau Chief in Hong Kong. He winds up this compact account, subscribing to containment, but with a plea for flexibility and imagination in our policy toward China.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

NO PEACE FOR ASIA, *by Harold R. Isaacs. M.I.T. Press, $2.95 (paper).*
STORM OVER ASIA, *by Robert Karr McCabe. The New American Library, $5.50.*

Tibetan Tragedy

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS has rendered a valuable service to students of diplomatic history by publishing the only history ever written by a high ranking lay official of Tibet, Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa's "Tibet: A Political History."

"A well written and thoroughly engaging study," is Ambassador Chester Bowles' characterization of the work. He adds that the volume will be of interest "to historians concerned with Tibet and to those interested in studying the history of British policy in India and of Sino-Indian relations."

Shakabpa understandably devotes much emphasis to disproving Chinese claims to Tibet. His task is sometimes made difficult by collaborating Tibetans, assignment of Chinese representatives (Ambans) to Tibet, stationing of a Chinese garrison in the Tibetan capital of Lhasa, and by the reluctance of the British to stand by Tibet at a critical moment.

Nevertheless Shakabpa weaves a pattern of almost continuous Tibetan resistance to Chinese overlordship. Beginning in 1247 when the Mongols acquired military (but not administrative) control of the land, the history of Tibet is that of struggle against invaders from the north and east, or from her southern neighbors of Nepal and Bhutan.

Not the least interesting aspect of Shakabpa's book is the story of Tibet's 14 Dalai Lamas, how they are chosen (through reincarnation in the form of a young boy who must possess certain bodily markings), and how they often were outstaged by their regents or ministers.

The Manchu domination of Tibet lasted from 1728 to 1911 and was particularly oppressive. One dreaded torture device was that of slowly slicing a person to death.

Britain, worried about reports of growing Russian influence among Lhasa's officialdom, entered the Tibetan scene in 1774 when Warren Hastings sent two officers to the country to inaugurate relations between Bengal and Tibet. Shakabpa denounces two British-Chinese agreements (1890 and 1893), made without Tibetan participation.

Bui-Vien Street, Saigon (*See page 25*) *by George G. Wynne*

Lord Curzon, Indian Viceroy, wearied of dealing with the Tibetans through the Manchu Emperors, authorized Col. Francis Younghusband to proceed into the country and to enter into direct negotiations. The Tibetans resisted Younghusband's efforts, but were unable to prevent his 5,000 Sikh and Gurkha troops from eventually entering Lhasa. The 1904 convention signed between Britain and Tibet in Lhasa specified that Tibet would not, without consent of the British Government, permit a foreign power to intervene in her affairs. This particular article (IX), says Shakabpa, completely negates any Chinese claims to sovereignity over Tibet.

First US contact with Tibet came when the Dalai Lama met the American Minister to China, William W. Rockhill, during a visit to China's Shansi province in 1908. Suydam Cutting, according to the author, was the first American to visit Tibet. He made trips there in 1930, 1935, and 1937. * His wife came along on one trip and was the first Caucasian woman to be officially invited to visit Tibet.

Shakabpa gives the text of letters exchanged between President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Dalai Lama at the time two OSS members, Capt. Ilia Tolstoy and Lt. Brooke Dolan, visited Lhasa. Later, when the author headed the Tibetan trade mission visiting in the United States, Tolstoy (then colonel) arranged a meeting with General Eisenhower.

The tragic death of the US Vice Consul Douglas S. Mackiernan, slain at the Tibetan border while fleeing the Chinese Communists, is related as one of many incidents leading up to the mass invasion by Peking in 1950.

Shakabpa holds out the hope that "truth must triumph in the end, Tibet should eventually regain her independence."

—James O. Mays

*These trips are recounted in Cutting's book, "The Fire Ox and Other Years."

Tibet: A Political History, *by Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa. Yale University Press, $10.00.*

Crisis in Berlin

During the last two decades the world became accustomed to Berlin crises. The Soviet blockade of 1948, Khrushchev's ultimatum in 1958, and the sudden building of the Wall in 1961 were merely dramatic highlights of a period in which continuing external pressure on the exposed city kept it in the news. Throughout this period the commitments to the defense of Berlin by the Western allies, and particularly by the United States, grew stronger and deeper, climaxed by the late President Kennedy's rousing statement that he was a Berliner. These commitments were matched in turn by resolute and constantly increasing confidence votes of the Berliners for democracy and freedom. These two developments combined to give the city and its inhabitants a very special place in the affections of the free world which is reflected in their policies toward Berlin.

As the external pressures on Berlin diminished after 1961 and the political situation in Europe moved hesitatingly but hopefully toward detente, the role of Berlin in this changing constellation required reexamination. Other factors complicated Berlin's situation. The German recession of 1966 and 1967 left its mark in a deterioration of Berlin's economy. The departure of governing Mayor Willy Brandt in late 1966 to serve as Foreign Minister in the new coalition government resulted in the removal of strong and internationally representative leadership from Berlin, but reciprocally introduced a more sympathetic understanding of the Berlin problem in Bonn. By mid-1967 the slow progress of the new policy of the Federal Government toward encouraging better relations with its Eastern European neighbors was virtually brought to a standstill by the determined political opposition of East Germany, the aloof indifference of the Soviet Union, and the resulting hesitant attitude on the part of most of the Eastern European countries. This seeming stalemate encouraged growing radicalization among frustrated Germans which manifested itself, along with other elements of dissatisfaction, most dramatically among the students of the Free University in Berlin, adding an element of internal dissension in the city.

Thus we are today confronted with the new phenomenon of a crisis *in* Berlin which has led to the collapse of one government and has prompted Foreign Minister Brandt to release one of his most able associates in Bonn, Klaus Schuetz, to become the new Governing Mayor in Berlin, in an effort to give Berlin a new strong sense of direction under the changed circumstances.

Eleanor Lansing Dulles has been intimately associated with all of Berlin's problems throughout the entire period. Her new book "BERLIN—The wall is not forever" provides excellent background material for understanding the events which have led up to the present situation. It is clear from the book that she is troubled in her mind about the future role of Berlin. The solution for the Berlin problem will have to be found in the realm of diplomacy. This will not be easy, but will certainly require an understanding by every Foreign Service officer, concerned with the problem, of the kind of background Mrs. Dulles so ably sets forth in her book.

—Edwin M. J. Kretzmann

Berlin—*The Wall Is Not Forever, by Eleanor Lansing Dulles. The University of North Carolina Press, $6.00.*

"Beyond Eagle and Swastika"

Professor Kurt P. Tauber of Williams College spent ten years writing this monumental reference work on German Nationalism since 1945. The two volumes add up to almost 1600 pages with the second volume containing only the notes and reference for the thousand-page first volume.

It is a good and thorough work, which will serve as a serious reference for a long time to come. It is certainly not a book for the casual reader. Professor Tauber avoids such glib terms as "neo-nazi." He is more interested in the basic sources of German nationalism, of which Nazism was only a mad and transitory manifestation.

—Albert W. Stoffel

Beyond Eagle and Swastika, *by Kurt P. Tauber. Wesleyan University Press, $35.00, (two volumes).*

Florence Flood

This diary should be read by everyone who has ever been to Florence as well as by those who have never been there but have loved it from afar.

It is the beautifully written, extremely well-compiled and vivid account of life and events in Florence from the dark, damp dusk of November 3, 1966, until the bright Spring day of March 4, 1967. Mrs. Taylor comments that once the charm of Florence takes hold "no other city will again completely satisfy . . " and indeed we all share a universal feeling of possessiveness for Florence. When the flood waters of the Arno raged through the streets, bringing disaster and destruction, the shock and despair were world-wide and immediate.

Mrs. Taylor takes us with her through the first dreadful terrors of the catastrophe as she watched and waited during the seemingly endless day and night. And then, incredulous in the wreckage and rubble of the aftermath, with the city choking in a sea of mud and oil, she asks: "How do you start again when there is nothing left to save?" And yet start again they did, the courageous and admirable Florentines, daring "to attack chaos

with a broom" and vigorously succeeding.

Mrs. Taylor's diary describes the awakening and the stunned reactions, the salvaging, the housing of the homeless, the cleaning, the rebuilding, the restoration of the art works, and the many problems that had never even been known in wartime. She tells of the help, both physical and financial, that arrived: the students who came from everywhere to work untiringly in the mud, unburying books and family treasures, and the volunteers—both amateur and expert—laboring side by side.

From each page emanates Mrs. Taylor's unfailing love and admiration for Florence and her knowledge of the people and the problems is deep, acute and not (repeat *not*) emotionally or sentimentally biased. This then, is perhaps the most important function of her diary—that she, living through the despairing, dark and dreary days of that November could have an objective and clear approach to a catastrophe that caught the rest of the world in an emotional lament.

The Florentines themselves must be proud of Mrs. Taylor's book, and grateful, too, as we all are, for her very human and comprehensive portrayal of one of the most cruel disasters of this century.

—JEAN STODDARD

DIARY OF FLORENCE IN FLOOD, *by Kathrine Kressmann Taylor. Simon and Schuster, $4.50.*

View of Portuguese Africa

RONALD CHILCOTE, a young American scholar, was jailed and then expelled from Angola by the Portuguese state police upon his initial visit to the territories in 1965. "Portuguese Africa," his first book, shows that this unfortunate experience has had its effect on Chilcote's view of the present Portuguese government.

The book is described by its publishers as "an interpretive history." There are chapters on the origin and development of Portuguese rule in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, and a brief look at the insurgencies which have broken out over the past six years in these territories. Chilcote sees the current struggle between African nationalist demands for independence and Portuguese determination to maintain their position as only the most recent of many similar conflicts during five centuries of Lusitanian rule.

"Portuguese Africa" suffers from the fact that its author has no first-hand acquaintance with his subject. It should be read, nevertheless, by Foreign Service personnel assigned to posts in or near the territories, as well as those seeking a full understanding of the problems of Southern Africa.

—LAMBERT HEYNIGER

PORTUGUESE AFRICA, *by Ronald H. Chilcote. Prentice-Hall, $4.95.*

Congress and Strategic Doctrine

THE sheer weight of this treatment of the Congressional role in strategic policy formation and its tendency to rely on quotations, however selective, from the voluminous resources of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and public committee hearings are likely to discourage the casual reader. It is perhaps not as imaginative or sophisticated in approach as a number of less substantial contributions in the field, but its very substance and seriousness are a valuable addition as a record and an analysis of what is, by any measurement, one of the crucial problems of our generation.

Its theme is the influence exerted, primarily by the Appropriations Committees, on the size, shape and quality of our military establishment since 1945. Its focus is on the groping, inconstant and often unsuccessful efforts to relate that establishment to the requirements of national foreign and security policy.

Starting with the pell-mell demobilization of 1946, it recalls the ascendancy of the Air Force; the gradual public awakening to national responsibility begun with the take-over of Czechoslovakia and continuing through the Soviet atom bomb test; the Greek Civil War; the Communist conquest in China; the various Berlin crises; the revolt of the admirals and later of the generals; the Korean War; the Truman increases of support commitments in several areas; the Eisenhower "New Look"; the psychological shock of the first sputnik, the growing questioning of bloc solidarity and of the credibility of the US deterrent; the Gaither and Rockefeller Brothers reports; the pregnant debates of the late Eisenhower and early Kennedy years; and the McNamara revolution in planning and presentation.

On the whole the author does not give Congress very high marks. (The Executive Branch until McNamara's day hardly comes off better.) He finds most Members and Committees guilty of narrow "watchdog of the purse" tactics, logrolling for local interests, service or program favoritism, jurisdictional jealousies and passive acceptance of administrative slogans as a substitute for broadly integrated policies. He does have his heroes such as:

Congressman Robert Sikes for his long and tardily rewarded battle for balanced forces; the Johnson-led Preparedness Subcommittee; the Jackson Subcommittee studies of security organization and the peak of Congressional effectiveness reached in the 87th Congress. He finds a subsequent decline in the influence of the Legislative Branch which he attributes in part to the ironically counter-productive result of bringing the Armed Services Committees more into the act by the introduction of Military Authorization bills under Section 412 (b) of the Military Construction Authorization Act of 1959.

The cyclical theory of history is reinforced by the author's comments on the 1960 period that "the Administration appeared to be defending itself more against its friends at home than its enemies abroad."

Because of "the decisive nature of military and foreign policy to the nation's life," Mr. Kolodziej diagnoses a "compelling need for greater and more effective Congressional participation." He would have this, however, a process of broad assessment, correction and compromise rather than minute legislation of policy and military strategy which he thinks are properly a function of the Executive. His prescription is a drastic recasting of the Committee structure and the budget process to counteract compartmentalization of the Congressional contribution.

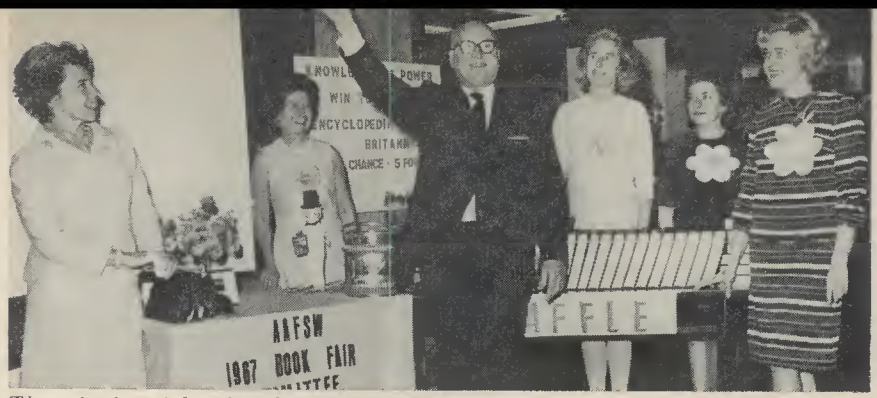
If this constructive analysis gives less than full credit to the Congress, it is perhaps in the understatement of two related factors. The first is the extent to which the leadership and key Committees benefit from and contribute to policy thinking in the executive sessions and background consultations which are usually not a part of the public record because of the necessary secrecy of much information and reasoning in the sensitive military and diplomatic areas. The second is the undeniable influence which Congressional probing, cajoling and threatening, not always publicly visible, have on the subsequent plans and policies of the Executive Branch.

In these days of the television image, it is easy to forget that there is still a need and a rewarding satisfaction for constructive but esoteric cooperation in the service of the national interest by both elected and appointed officials.

—H. G. Torbert, Jr.

The Uncommon defense and Congress, *1945-1963, by Edward A. Kolodziej. Ohio State University Press, $7.50.*

The Year of the *Bookworm*



The winning ticket for the Britannica, drawn by Deputy Under Secretary Idar Rimestad. Mrs. Leonard Marks, left, and Book Fair Committee members look on.

IN China it may be the year of the cock but in Washington, D. C., this has definitely been the year of the worm—the bookworm, that is. From the moment that Bertie the Bookworm, round and smiling and top-hatted, emerged from Publicity Chairman Dorothy Lightner's imagination, the 1967 Association of American Foreign Service Women's Book Fair was off with a bang. For a while all Bertie seemed to have was the gift of ubiquity. He stared out of yellow book-marks reminding the public that donations of books were needed for the Fair. He was seen again in a most attractive version whenever Co-Chairman Stratton McKillop appeared in her bookworm costume as a publicity stunt. He constantly popped up everywhere—on AAFSW stationery, at the Association's lunches. He was talked about, quoted . . . Oh, Bertie, what you started! The 1967 Book Fair was like no other. . . .

Lynda Bird and boss, Christine Sadler Coe, autograph copies of "Children in the White House."

The Art Section drew a large and appreciative group of shoppers.

It all began mildly enough with the organizing of the mammoth labor force which makes the Book Fair possible. 1967 Co-Chairmen June Byrne and Stratton McKillop and their committees were soon busy with the usual unexciting early chores of collecting, sorting, storing the slow but steady flow of books pouring into the State Department. Through the spring and summer a tall high school boy could often be seen pushing a dolly loaded with books through endless corridors from the collecting bins to the store room, and when he left for college, two other boys manned the carts. In the background, but very active, special committees were gathering in, from posts flung around the world, a colorful harvest of stamps and posters, and in the Art Section, South American paintings, Asian parchment cut-outs, Japanese and French prints were being stacked up in readiness for the show.

In the very early fall, at a call from Bertie the Bookworm, the "ready-for-action" lights went up in every working section. Publicity was stepped up; the "Collector's Corner" force expertly examined and priced an ever-increasing number of treasurable books. The invaluable Men's Committee collected, delivered, unloaded, assembled cartons at an always accelerated speed. The hundreds of volunteers connected with the Fair—and these included not only husbands but sons and daughters, too—turned up their sleeves and pitched in . . . The 1967 State Department Book Fair was about to begin.

What made this a "different" year was all too apparent on the morning of Saturday, October 21st, when the Saturday Set-Up Committee was confronted with the news that Washington was not only setting up a Book Fair, it was also having a peace demonstration. Alerted the night before, volunteers "made it" to the State Department by the nine-thirty deadline, after which it might have been impossible to circulate through the streets. Working like beavers in the tense atmosphere of a building protected by men of the D. C. Air National Guard, the workers were stunned to hear, halfway through the job, that the Department would have to be "evacuated" by three-thirty. There would never be time to finish! But leave it to Bertie . . . The National Guard contingent volunteered to lend a hand and the work was finished in so short a time that it has been whispered that next year's committee will wait for another major demonstration to be scheduled before setting the date for the 1968 Book Fair. . . .

Monday morning, October 23rd, bright and early, the cashiers were at their places, the book sellers behind their counters. The books had been conveniently sorted and placed in orderly rows under signs indicating their subject matter. The Art Section looked like an attractive small Georgetown gallery. The Stamp Section had nothing to envy a major philatelic shop. And the Poster Section attracted the eye—its row upon row of colorful merchandise hanging cleverly from clothespins attached to coat hangers. Bertie's color—yellow—was the theme everywhere; the two Co-Chairmen clothed in it from head to foot—and we mean stockings and shoes!—Committee members wearing large blue-centered yellow daisies, volunteers sporting blue and yellow ribbons, and yellow book-shaped posters advertising the volumes whose authors would appear at the Fair to autograph them. Into this bookworm paradise hundreds of buyers poured the moment Mrs. Idar Rimestad, wife of the Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, officially opened the affair by cutting a—yellow, of course!—ribbon. And so—with Bertie's blessing—the 1967 Book Fair was on.

There was an innovation this year—our mascot saw to that. Family Night was created to permit the younger, school-bound members of families to attend the Fair. More than five hundred parents and children signified their approval by being present, and the crowd took on a particularly festive aspect when yellow Bertie-the-Bookworm balloons were distributed to the delighted young fry. . . . Around the tables the youngsters gathered, just as pleased as adults at finding an exciting volume, a rare stamp, while others tried a device put up by the Art Committee which whirled and swirled colors at random to produce an original small "contemporary masterpiece."

Throughout the three days famous authors came to the State Department to autograph their books. Munro Leaf, Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, Marquis Childs, Dorothy Rogers—to name but a few, were lured to the Fair by that persuasive bookworm who was also clever enough to produce none other than the daughter of the President of the United States, Lynda Bird Johnson, who alongside her boss, Christine Sadler of McCall's Magazine, autographed copies of the book "Children in the White House."

And then there were also those many funny little Bertie-inspired sidelights. A Foreign Service family coming to Family Night overhearing a couple of indignant hippies—left over, no doubt, from the previous day's demonstration force—protesting loudly: "Show our passes? What do you mean? Isn't this National Airport?" (Blush, oh dignified Diplomatic Entrance!). . . . VICORE, the rapid-reading institute, buying several thousand paperbacks to feed the insatiable appetite of its fast reading students . . . Hendrick van Oss discovering his family's history in an obscure volume in the Collector's Corner . . . A mysterious little lady in a mink jacket stepping out of the night at the closing hour to buy, sight unseen, 70 cartons of left-over books . . . A touch of Bertie, here and there. . . .

And in the end, the bookworm victory. Having successfully disposed of over 3,800 used books, almost a million stamps, an array of framed and unframed art items and many hundred posters from foreign lands, Bertie triumphantly announced—through the voice of AAFSW President Polly Jones—at the last Association luncheon: "Today a check for eleven thousand dollars has been turned in by the 1967 Book Fair Committee. This sum represents the amount earned for scholarships by the 1967 Book Fair."

Perhaps Bertie is out of a job now . . . Unless he is just waiting to pop up, round and smiling and top-hatted, on the desk of one of the many students who will benefit from the scholarships he has made possible. ■

AMONG OUR CONTRIBUTORS

MARTIN F. HERZ, author of "On the Rejection of a Historical Parallel," page 18, has just returned to the Department from a tour as Political Counselor in Tehran. Mr. Herz was a member of the Editorial Board of the JOURNAL, a member of the Board of Directors of AFSA for three years (1960-63) and is again a member of the AFSA Board, effective December 1. He has been a frequent contributor to the JOURNAL and is the author of two books, "A Short History of Cambodia" and "Beginnings of the Cold War."

GEORGE G. WYNNE is already known to the readers of the JOURNAL for his avocational pursuits of early Americans and buried obelisks in Rome while serving there as press officer. Mr. Wynne is now winding up his Vietnam assignment as Planning Officer of the JUSPAO in Saigon where he puttered around the National Archives in his spare time and came up with "The Imaginary Voyage of Bui-Vien," page 21.

HAROLD D. LANGLEY is an Associate Professor of History at The Catholic University of America in Washington. Formerly a member of the Historical Office of the Department of State, Dr. Langley is interested in the growth of the Department and the evolution of the Foreign Service. Dr. Langley's research into this evolution led to "An Early Proposal to Reorganize the Department of State," page 24. His interest in other Governmental institutions led to the publication last April of his book, "Social Reform in the US Navy, 1798-1862," (University of Illinois Press).

Our cover artist, BARRETT STEPHENS, wife of Bart N. Stephens, USIA, has been having art lessons, accepting advice about her painting and getting criticized about her art since the age of nine. She has an art degree from Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Virginia where she has returned to live with their four daughters while her husband is Director of the American Cultural Center in Saigon. Barrett won second prize in mixed media and third in painting in the State Department Art Show in 1966. The cover painting is of a church in Taxco, Mexico, painted in 1967.

ALEX LIPSMAN, author of "Strength," page 10, is a longtime employee of AID, now Deputy Director of the Office of Panamanian Affairs in State and AID. Mr. Lipsman has served in the Philippines, Yugoslavia and Iran. He writes that he used to publish a tourist guide in southern California but the money was uncertain.

EVA A. MCKAY graduated from George Washington University in 1946 with a major in history. She spent a year in New Delhi with USIA and her subsequent experience has been in administration in the Department, particularly the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. Mrs. McKay offers a glimpse into Russian history in the days of the Tsars, on page 34.

REED J. IRVINE, who contributed "Sprechen Sie Communese?" on page 17, is an Adviser in the Division of International Finance and Chief of the Asia, Africa and Latin America Section of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. He has written and lectured extensively on the problems of developing countries and the impact of economic ideas on public policy. The views expressed in his article do not necessarily reflect those of the Board of Governors.

Not many Foreign Service officers have won professional plaudits for two of their avocations. But AMBASSADOR G. LEWIS JONES, at the present time Coordinator, Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy at FSI, is a notable poet and a notable painter. For evidence, look at the group of Ambassador Jones's poems in this issue and the cover of the July, 1967 JOURNAL.

SYLVIA ZIMMERMAN, who reports on Bertie the Bookworm on page 42, worked in the Press Section of what was then the Pan American Union and did free-lance writing on the side

before marrying FSO Robert W. Zimmerman in 1947. Mrs. Zimmerman writes, "After a hiatus of some 20 years, four children and five posts, I have picked up my old pen again, spurred on by winning the 1966 Ganivet Prize for the best article on the city of Granada."

DIPLOMACY *is an intricate enterprise and each country has its problems. Just because American Foreign Service officers have such problems as the entertainment allowance, they need not think that life in other embassies and consulates is simple. Take the question of free riding lessons for young German diplomats as recounted by the* Hannoversche Allgemeine *in a recent issue.*

Should diplomats be practiced in the equestrian arts? Is it necessary, or even advisable, that they should be good huntsmen? Should they even be expected to expose themselves occasionally to the horns of an angry bull in an arena—all for the sake of making contacts?

A member of the Bundestag inquired recently whether attachés receive riding lessons at the government's expense. A spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs admitted that young diplomats do in fact have free riding lessons so that they can have opportunities of establishing, or maintaining, informal contacts in the diplomatic social whirl.

This comparatively minor inquiry unveils a problem which is worrying governments in all parts of the world. How should young diplomats be trained? How should they be helped to make contact with other people in modern society?

Appointing young diplomats on the basis of suitability, background and education is a far more complex procedure than it used to be. Today the young third secretary must be well informed in most fields. The diplomatic ball is no longer a very important event where casual diplomatic overtures can be made, compared with the political club, a meal at the Chamber of Commerce or even in the street.

Political contacts can be established more easily perhaps over a game of golf or in a shooting party. Even football cannot be ignored. The Federal Republic's first post-war Ambassador to Madrid, Prince Adalbert von Bayern, frankly told this country's national eleven visiting Spain "I hope the game ends in a draw. Otherwise, some of my china may be broken."

This was an example of clever psychology in which a diplomat, if he is to earn his title, must be adept. In countries like Spain it can greatly enhance the reputation of an ambassador, and open many doors to him, if he steps forward as a banderillero (as happened recently) at a fund-raising bull-fight, if he wins first prize in a photo competition or if his wife organizes an art exhibition.

In fact wives are very important players in the diplomatic game. A wife's performance can make or break her husband's diplomatic career.

Behind all political upheavals, social events are still indispensable occasions to explore the ground before any official diplomatic moves are made. A breach of etiquette, however, can cause annoyance, just as over-punctilious observance of protocol is found wearisome.

Such a high degree of tact and intuition is required that often only women can be expected to possess it. In these matters Latin women are unsurpassed.

In one Federal Republic embassy in southern Europe the Italian wife of a first secretary was the uncontested First Lady. Of all professions that of diplomat entrusts wives with tasks to which they should not come unprepared. A clever ambassador once said, not without good reason, that schools for diplomats' wives are really more important than schools for their husbands.

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policy to enable them at least to compete in appearance with other first-class powers. Of course, I am entering upon a wide field, the very fringe of which I shall but skirt. In the East, in Russia, and, indeed, in many European countries, the dignity and power of a nation are estimated according to the appearance made by its representatives. If our country was thus judged by the delegates of the different nations at the coronation of the Tsar, they must certainly have placed us at the foot of the list. I wonder how long it will be before our consuls, ministers, and ambassadors are so paid that they can go to their posts without a constant dread of impending financial disaster if they are poor men, or without the knowledge, if they are rich, that their appointment simply means an opportunity to make themselves a good deal poorer before their term of office expires. Surely the United States is big enough and generous enough to deal with an open hand with the citizens it sends abroad to care for its interests in foreign lands. We must also take into consideration our position among the other great nations of the world, and the nature of our diplomatic intercourse with them. We are essentially a nation of producers, producing more than is necessary for home consumption; we are eager to augment our commercial importance in the markets of the world; and in many of those markets we must first of all enhance our importance by lifting up the dignity of those who represent us. It is a very poor policy to make a meagre display in the show window of either a nation or a shop.

"I hope I shall be forgiven for this digression, but I must confess that while in Moscow, although intensely American, I felt more than once put to the blush that our country, which we believe to be the greatest on earth, should have made so poor a display when compared with even insignificant South American powers. And I must confess that the false position into which our accredited representatives abroad are frequently forced by the policy of mistaken economy pursued by our Government is scarcely commensurate with our dignity and position.

"In many of the great capitals foreign governments own and maintain at their own expense the houses in which the embassies and legations are domiciled. These are always of a size and elegance suitable to the position of their representatives. In addition to this, they pay them salaries sufficiently large for the maintenance, in every way, of a state creditable to their governments. Our Government owns no house in any foreign capital, nor is any provision or allowance made for the renting or maintaining of such. Our ambassadors and ministers are supposed to provide this from their salaries which are, when compared to those of the representatives of even third-rate powers, very small and mean.

"There are also courtesies in the form of social entertainments that are almost obligatory among representatives at a foreign court. These entertainments do not represent the personal feeling of one representative for another, so much as the feeling between the two countries represented. Is it, therefore, right or just that we send our representative abroad and expect him to bear personally the expenses of discharging the obligations devolving upon him in order to maintain the dignity and prestige of his country? If this mistaken petty economy be persistently followed by our Government, the time will soon arrive when none but the rich can afford to represent us abroad, and we shall soon build up a plutocratical governmental service in direct opposition to the fundamental principles of the Republic."

Now, it should be remembered that, in the year 1896, $5,000 went a great deal further than it does today. Ordinarily that is, but coronation time in Moscow was not ordinary. Mr. Logan relates that his expense for the hire of two carriages (which he deemed necessary for his small menage)

cost him $40 a day. Presume that the American Minister had to have a minimum of four carriages a day to service his entourage for the three weeks' festivity—ergo, a quarter of the wad is shot.

Furthermore, Minister Breckenridge had to rent some sort of suitable establishment for the entertainment of the Americans who had come for the event. Since the guests consisted of Mrs. Palmer (of the Chicago Potters), Mrs. Roebling (of the New York Bridges), and Mrs. Alexander (of the San Francisco Crockers) it can be presumed that this collection of elegant American *grandes dames* would hardly expect the American representative to give parties in just anybody's old *dacha*.

Since circumstance plays a big part in history, let the mind conjecture on the possibility that the American Minister *had* received a more suitable representation allowance! Suppose he could then have outbid Monsieur l'Ambassadeur for the splendid Sheremetiev palace! Suppose he could have had potted palms sent up from the Crimea and suppose he could have had Delmonico's ship over one of those bubbling champagne fountains! Suppose the American Minister could have attracted the presence of the Tsar and Tsarina and their immediate entourage! Suppose the Russians (who all spoke English) had had the opportunity to be charmed by the appealing American ladies! Suppose that, as a result of such entertainment, Russia would have harkened to the common sense of that great democracy so safely across the seas! The head fairly spins with the thoughts of the different courses that history could have taken.

Unfortunately, the Americans did not outshine the representatives of the other great powers. In the end, Russia proceeded down a doomed path and catered to the very countries that destroyed it.

Such are the lessons of history. ■

COMMUNESE

(*Continued from page* 17)

the Communese vocabulary, the following are some of the more commonly used words with their English translations.

COMMUNESE-ENGLISH GLOSSARY

aggression—defense against totalitarianism
bourgeoisie—liberals
communism—Soviet totalitarianism
cooperation—coerced regimentation
democratic—dictatorial
dictatorship of the proletariat—dictatorship of the totalitarian conspirators
emancipation—enslavement
enslavement—liberation
fascism—
1. applied to Hitler Germany, totalitarianism,
2. applied to other countries, anti-totalitarianism
freedom—enslavement, elimination of freedom
hired slavery—free labor
imperialism—liberalism
monopolies—competitive industrial organizations in non-totalitarian states
national liberation movements—totalitarian subversive movements in less developed countries
oppression—freedom
proletariat—totalitarian conspirators who pretend to speak for the working people
revolution—counter-revolution
Social-Democrat—humanitarian socialist
socialism—totalitarianism, used interchangeably with communism
unite—liquidate opposition by terror
voluntarily—forcefully
working people—leaders of the totalitarian movement ■

AN EARLY PROPOSAL (*continued from page* 25)

of a Chief Clerk whose salary was limited to $2,000 a year; two clerks whose top salary was $1,600; four clerks at $1,400 a year, each; one clerk at $1,000 and two who were paid not more than $800 a year each. While the total domestic expense of the Department at that time was $15,900. Woodward argued that a good bit of this went for foreign relations work, and hence his total cost for the eight Under Secretaries was not unreasonably high. He anticipated that his Under Secretaries would do away with the need for a Chief Clerk and there would be no subordinate clerks in any of the bureaus. The men chosen to be the Under Secretaries must have "extraordinary attainment, and high respectability. . . ." Woodward felt that it was probable that "as business accumulates, and affairs are methodized, a wise, provident, and liberal legislature" would increase the salaries of Under Secretaries from the amounts proposed at the beginning of the reorganization. Furthermore, if the public business was correctly administered, the income of the Treasury would far exceed the outlays.

Finally, for those Americans who feared that the extension of our diplomatic relations would corrupt the "pure republican" attachments of our diplomats, Woodward pointed out that the administration of the United States commanded the respect and invited the affection of foreign powers. Therefore sending talented and accomplished men to foreign courts would help to spread abroad a love of republicanism.

Unlike many a later proposal for reorganization, Woodward's ideas came to the attention of the President and other officials. Some favorable comments were made about the reorganization scheme, but many officials questioned its feasibility. Nevertheless, in his annual message of 1826, President Adams asked Congress to separate the interior and foreign affairs duties of the State Department and to create a new Department of the Interior. The House of Representatives appointed a special committee, chaired by Daniel Webster, to look into the matter. When Webster conferred with the President about the proposal, Adams referred him to the writings of Judge Woodward on the subject. The President told Webster, however, that the Woodward plan was on too large a scale to ever get the approval of Congress. And so it was. Congress pondered the idea of a home department for many years, and it was not until 1849 that the Department of the Interior became a reality. This act relieved the Secretary of State of the responsibilities for the patent office, and the taking of the census, but did nothing else to implement Woodward's suggestions. High level help for the Secretary in the form of the offices of first, second and third Assistant Secretaries came in 1853, 1866 and 1874, respectively. It was not until 1919 that the position of Under Secretary was created. The first regional divisions were not established until 1908.

And what about Woodward? He went to Florida where he served as a judge until his death in 1827. So passed from the scene an early Washingtonian and Federal office holder who saw that the diplomatic and commercial relations of his country would grow and who tried to prepare it for its coming responsibilities. ■

EDITOR'S NOTE: *One of Judge Woodward's recommendations was that the State Department should be freed from the duty of printing and distributing the laws of Congress. That duty was not completely moved out of the Department until 1949, when it was done at the urging of the then chief of the division of publications, Reed Harris (now a member of the* JOURNAL *Editorial Board). When Harris moved into the division of publications in 1948, he discovered that one branch of the division spent all of its time on assembling and publishing in book form the laws of the United States. To the consternation of some traditionalists, he persuaded the Department and the Bureau of the Budget to transfer this function to the National Archives—so one of Judge Woodward's ideas was carried out 125 years after it was advanced.*

IMAGINARY VOYAGE

(*continued from page* 23)

There are many more accounts of the Bui-Vien mission in Vietnamese vernacular literature and the history texts but they all are based on one or the other of the versions outlined above. No new elements or source leads are provided by these publications.

To separate fact from fiction in the voyage of Bui-Vien, considering the absence of source citations in any of the Vietnamese works consulted, an effort got underway to uncover primary sources on the historic mission both in Vietnam and Washington. The National Archives in Saigon fortunately hold one copy of the transcripts of the (then) reigning Nguyen dynasty,* hand-blocked in Chinese characters, which contains a record of all court affairs, imperial audiences and nominations. Only two other copies of this historic volume are known to be extant, one in Hue, the other in Paris. The work was considered particularly promising because it contains extensive references to two earlier contacts between the US and Vietnam. In 1832, and again in 1836, Edmund Roberts, a New England ship owner who carried credentials from President Andrew Jackson, arrived on official missions to negotiate commercial treaties with Emperor Minh Mang, the predecessor of Tu Duc. These missions were unsuccessful due to a series of misunderstandings and suspicions very completely dealt with in the article titled: "Sire, Their Nation is Very Cunning," by Everett Scotten, which appeared in the January 1939 issue of the Foreign Service JOURNAL.

Professor Le Ngoc Tru, director of the Archives, was kind enough to make an exhaustive search of the imperial annals for the entire 36-year reign of Tu Duc without discovering any reference to Bui-Vien and his mission to the United States. Nor is Bui-Vien mentioned in another rare work of the Tu Duc reign, a kind of "Who's Who"** of important personalities in the realm prepared by Cao Xuan Duc, Minister at the Court of Dai Nam (as Vietnam was then called). This book contains essential biographic data on more than a hundred personalities active in national life during Tu Duc's rule. It strains credulity to believe that the chief of an important diplomatic mission, dispatched by Tu Duc and received by the Emperor in one of his rare private audiences, should go unrecorded in the annals, and that the Biographic Register contains no mention of the Director General of the Customs Service and later Chief of the Merchant Fleet appointed by the Emperor.

The search was pursued in the United States on the supposition that the papers of Presidents Lincoln and Grant would make at least a passing reference to a meeting with the envoy from an exotic Southeast Asian Kingdom, had Bui-Vien actually reached Washington and been received by either of the two Presidents. Through the cooperation of the Department's Historical Office, a careful search made in the Archives turned up no clue relative to the Bui-Vien visit. Further, no mention was found of any letter to or from Bui-Vien in the index of President Lincoln's papers at the Library of Congress. The index to the papers of President Grant, now held by the Library of Congress, was also checked for any mention of either the Emperor or his emissary, but yielded no information.†

It was thought that the envoy of a Far Eastern Potentate passing through the port of San Francisco in the 1860s or 70s would also have come to public notice even if by some chance Bui-Vien never did succeed in meeting the Chief Executive. Accordingly, the California Historical Society and the Society of California Pioneers were consulted for any mention of Bui-

**Dai Nam Thuc Luc Chinh Bien (1802-1883).*

***Quoc Trieu Chinh Bien by Cao Xuan Duc, n.d. Hue.*

†Letters January 7 and April 11, 1967 to author by William M. Franklin, Director of Historical Office and Edwin S. Costrell, Chief Historical Studies Division, Department of State.

Vien in their index of old California newspapers. This too led up a blind alley.

Finally, there was the unorthodox figure of the half-Chinese American consul in Hong Kong fond of putting self-composed Chinese poetry on ceremonial scrolls with bold brush strokes and handing them to favored visitors. What did the State Department archives have to say about him? The Historical Studies Division of the Department writes:

"Old Registers of the Department of State contain the following information: On January 1, 1862, Horace N. Conger was serving as Consul at Hong Kong; he was born in New Jersey. C. N. Goulding was commissioned on July 10, 1869 to be Consul at Hong Kong; he was born in Ohio. David H. Bailey was commissioned August 5, 1870 to be Consul at Hong Kong and was still serving there in December 1873. He too was born in Ohio. All of these men were paid $3500 yearly from which they were expected to pay for the hire of any clerks needed to operate the Consulate. Hong Kong fell under the Department's Schedule B which forbade Consuls to transact business other than that of the Consulate . . . ."

It seems improbable that Bui-Vien's versifying Chinese spiritual companion is hidden among this group of relative short-timers at Hong Kong, born in New Jersey and Ohio. There was one further chance, that in transliterating from the Chinese, Hong Kong might have been mistakenly translated for Kwangtung, and Bui-Vien's friend may have been the US Consul at Kwangtung. But the State Department writes: "The United States had no consul at Kwangtung for the period you suggest—indeed, not until the early 1900s . . . "

Where does all this leave the historic mission of Bui-Vien? *Did* the twain meet? And if they did not, *who* was the first Vietnamese traveler to the United States? An old Vietnamese proverb says: "words are not measured in gold coin, let them gladden the hearts of men!" Without wishing to cast reflections on the integrity of Bui-Vien, if indeed he was a real rather than a fictional character placed in historical guise by the late author Phan Tran Chuc, one might suppose that an emissary prevented from reaching a distant, practically legendary country beyond the seven seas which had never been seen by any of his countrymen, might be tempted to concoct a plausible story of near success to save his face before his sovereign.

One fact that emerges clearly from this search for the elusive traces of Bui-Vien is that his mission to the United States which the students of South Vietnam are taught to regard as the first official contact between the two countries, cannot be substantiated. Historical fiction has been accepted as fact, and as if this were not enough, even a street in downtown Saigon has been named after the elusive and probably fictitious Bui-Vien.

At the present level of US commitment, more than a million young Americans will soon have spent a year of their lives in Vietnam and our country will have more speakers of Vietnamese than all the universities in the world put together.

About ten thousand Vietnamese have already studied in the United States in recent years and every year brings many more to our shores. With this massive and continuing exchange at all levels between the two countries it seems high time that we discover, as a historical footnote at least, the identity of the first Vietnamese to enter the United States.

If Bui-Vien is cut out of whole cloth, *our first Vietnamese visitor might only have come to America in this century!* During the period of the first World War many Vietnamese arrived in the West with French army units or sailed as crew members on French ships, crossing the Pacific. It is conceivable that the first Vietnamese visitor to America is of that recent a vintage. Ho Chi Minh, for one, is thought to have visited America during port calls of the *SS Latouche Treville* on which he served as a crew member circa 1912.

Will the real Bui-Vien or anyone having knowledge of his whereabouts in history kindly step forward? ■

by HELEN K. BEHRENS

Very Light Wiener Schnitzel

While Bob, my husband, was working for his Doctorate at the Sorbonne, I was getting used to a future in the Foreign Service through a stint at the American Embassy. Coming home to twin babies and a butagas burner didn't do much for our meals, and we developed the pleasant habit of celebrating Saturdays by lunching at a modest neighborhood restaurant which boasted one of those chefs other people are always telling you about. M. Noel and an apprentice handled the cuisine in the depths of the cellar, Madame, the orders, cash register, and amenities, and an elderly cousin puffed around waiting on all the tables and dispensing garlic-water formulas guaranteed to cure heart trouble (or something). The patrons were regulars, and their tastes were well known—as ours came to be after we first tasted M. Noel's *Escalope Viennoise,* that is, *Wiener Schnitzel,* or as the Italians insist, *Scaloppini Milanaise.* One day, after several visits but before French reserve had broken down to any extent, we heard Madame yell Bob's dessert order down the dumbwaiter thusly: "One créme caramel for Monsieur l'escalope Viennoise!" THAT broke the ice in short order, and we ended the afternoon explaining mint juleps to the Noels in exchange for their informational lecture on the virtues of a *trou Normand.* (Shot of Calvados taken in the middle of a meal which has far too many delicious courses; it helps—"much better than a cigarette," M. Noel convinced me.)

Later, when we were assigned to Salzburg, I found out that Austrians girls all learn to make a light, crusty Wiener Schnitzel at their mother's knee, and nothing is quicker to cook if that guest we made the meringues for a few columns back turns up at the last minute again. Keep several boneless cutlets of very thinly-sliced veal in separate packages in the freezer; they defrost rapidly, and the veal *must be* thinly sliced for this recipe; pound it with a rolling pin if necessary, having cut small slits along the edges of the slice so it will lie properly flat while cooking. Each slice should be not more than ¼" thick; allow one the size of your hand per person, more if they are smaller. They will shrink a tiny bit.

Salt and pepper the cutlets lightly, then dip each piece in flour, then in well-beaten eggs (two eggs should be plenty for six pieces of meat), finally in fine breadcrumbs. Do not repeat the dipping; once is enough and assures a lighter dish. This can be done and set aside, or even prepared in the morning by working girls and left refrigerated.

A few minutes before serving, heat two tablespoons of oil and two tablespoons of butter in a large frying pan; when this sizzles, put in the coated cutlets. As soon as one side is golden, turn the cutlets carefully; when the other side browns, the cutlets are done. Put on a warm serving dish, pour the butter from the pan over them, and garnish with any or all of the following which can also be ready ahead of time: lemon

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wedges (always); anchovies; 2 per cutlet; chopped parsley; hard-boiled egg slices or, preferably as M. Noel did it, sieved hard-boiled yolks and whites kept separate but forming a pretty design on the edge of each cutlet with the parsley and lemon.

Mrs. Behrens still welcomes recipes from interested readers. These can be sent to her through the JOURNAL *or direct to American Embassy, Algiers.*

What, a Grade D Ambassador?

An applicant for the Foreign Service evoked the following tribute from one of his former employers:

Mr. —— ——
Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Mr. —— —— was employed here as a typist and clerk during the summer of 1959. He earned an average of $61.50 a week.

He did his assigned work very well and was dependable in every respect. He lacked initiative or confidence, however, and because of that he remained a typist during his entire tenure here even though opportunity for more responsibility had been presented.

I believe he would be a good American ambassador in some minor and routine capacity since he is so well mannered and well educated. I would not recommend him, however, in any decision making capacity.

Very truly yours,

To satisfy your curiosity, it is a pleasure to complete the record by revealing that the applicant was successful.

LETTERS to the EDITOR

Diagnosis of Competition

THE remarks of Ambassador Steeves in the August issue of the JOURNAL, "New Responsibilities for an Old Service," should set us all to thinking about our "Old Service" and what we can do to make ourselves and the Service better. I, for one, was pleased that Ambassador Steeves did not once remark on the importance of competition in the Foreign Service. How often have we in the recent past been told by the administrators in the Department that "the Foreign Service is an extremely competitive service"?

The dictionary defines "competition" as a rivalry, a contest, a match. A "diplomat" is described as a person whose career it is to conduct relations with other governments in the interest of his own country; a person skilled in dealing with other people, a tactful person. I believe all those engaged in the conduct of foreign relations must be "extremely cooperative" rather than extremely competitive to make diplomacy effective.

All of us, both supervisor and supervised, know how difficult it is to evaluate the varied talents of our colleagues. Talents and personalities are wide ranging. Some learn foreign languages easily, others find it nearly impossible but have other skills; some speak well, but are unable to write clearly, etc. In a system of cooperation rather than competition, we would be helping one another overcome shortcomings. Under our present competitive system, however, we join in the criticism when a colleague's performance fails to measure up in an assignment, an assignment perhaps that emphasized his weaknesses and not his strengths. Some of our more competitive colleagues avoid such problems by jockeying for assignments, resisting some and vigorously pursuing others.

Should we expect quality "thinking" from people aggressively seeking the best place in the organization "to get ahead"? What is the best job? Who is the person to please? Has sheer aggressiveness become the hallmark for proving leadership and executive ability? Are good manners now being taken for diffidence? Has the competition in our Service reached the point where some of us fail to introduce colleagues to information or persons that would help them in their particular role in the conduct of foreign affairs? Have any of us under the euphemism "that's not my responsibility" failed to assist a colleague when such assistance would have helped "him" but not "us"? Has the "extremely competitive" world of the recent Foreign Service made family background, financial position, friends, politics, religion, schools, etc., play unattractive roles, both pro and con? Has competition in the Service meant that some supervisors feel they must keep to themselves most office activities in order to insure their own position, thereby neglecting to develop in subordinates qualifications for more responsible work?

The word competition has had, in general, a healthy connotation in the American business world when applied to bettering a product or a service. How ugly would individual competition be, however, among a group of scientists developing a cure for heart disease or cancer. In order to secure advancement in the sciences, both natural and social (including diplomacy?), cooperation and not competition must be the key word.

The Foreign Service, if it is to do the job the country expects it to do, must be a career service of intelligent and sensitive individuals fully cooperating with each other in doing the nation's business. Individual competition within the Service breeds suspicion among its practitioners and makes a given policy the chance victim of one-upmanship. The affairs of state deserve better than this kind of Foggy Bottom roulette. With slight alterations in a few of the guideposts and with a restoration of confidence in both ourselves and the Service through mutual respect, we could have what Ambassador Steeves sees as an immediate need, "a carefully selected, professionally trained, highly motivated and disciplined career Service." In my view the country cannot afford less.

THOMAS A. FAIN

Washington

Need for Motivation

I SHOULD like to call your attention to the recently published Foreign Affairs Manual Circular, No. 485, August 10, 1967, which requires an officer assigned to academic training to sign a repayment agreement under whose terms he is liable for the total cost of his training in the event that he should resign from the service before a period of service equal to three times the length of his training. I disagree with this requirement and believe the Foreign Service Association should concern itself with obtaining its repeal.

It is my impression that this arrangement was proposed to the Department on several past occasions, but that the Department rejected it on the grounds that an officer is not particularly useful to the service unless he is properly motivated. This reasoning strikes me as still valid and I regret that the Department has reversed itself.

RICHARD H. HOWARTH

Washington

The Most Beautiful Line in French

I AM always interested in "Peaks on Parnassus"—the Washington Letter's "the most beautiful lines in literature." The most beautiful line in French is said to be: "Service Compris."

ROBERT RINDEN

San Francisco

No Help in the Averages

THE Brown University ALUMNI BULLETIN for July contains some interesting salary statistics on the Class of 1942 that seem relevant to Mr. Horsey's recent testimony on The Hill.

The average annual salary for this class of men, now 46 or 47 years old is $33,188. The average for the straight-A elite is $61,500. Forty four men who received no grade below B average $32,455. Those with all C's and B's earn $28,155. Those with lower grades, $27,461.

I don't know how many FSOs were members of the Class of 1942 at Brown. Whatever their number, they sure didn't help raise the averages!

HARRY I. ODELL

Athens

Rigorous Program

IN re "To Balance the Payments" (Hughes' contribution to thought in July Issue) and Lewis D. Junior's comment (September issue):

We should immediately and positively prohibit:

1. The consumption of all foreign wines
2. The consumption of all foreign whiskies, including Scotch and all liqueurs
3. The consumption of ALL foreign foods
4. Any stopovers to or from, or travel away from, the assigned foreign post.
5. Just think what we could save if we would just eliminate ALL diplomatic posts (and postings) abroad.

TOM LERCH
AID

Washington

Does AFSA Serve All?

Enclosed are my membership dues for the current year. However, I did want to draw your attention to the fact that the only reason for my continued membership is some of the financial benefits—insurance, book discounts. I am sure you agree that this hardly constitutes a satisfactory basis for participation in a professional organization.

Principally I resent the tone and often the content of the Journal which, presumably, reflects the attitudes of the organization. It is obvious that the editorial board and those from whom you elicit contributions have not adjusted themselves to the fact that there is a foreign service as well as a Foreign Service. To the extent awareness of this impinges it calls forth unflattering comparisons and Clay-like suggestions that the Foreign Service "is the greatest."

I, needless to say, am not a member of the Foreign Service, but of AID. I attended a school where a large proportion of the graduates went into the Foreign Service (except I stayed on to get a Ph.D.) and surveying the background of my colleagues I find them to have equal, if not better, educational training and experience in foreign affairs, to that possessed by our Foreign Service brethren. I also note that our non-technical staff does more negotiating, with a wider range of people, on a greater variety of subjects than the average FSO is likely to until very late in his career. I would therefore suggest that a reorientation of attitude by the Association might be appropriate and I suggest the following points as guidance:

—recognize that US foreign involvements are complex and require many skills to sustain satisfactorily. All services overseas are of equal importance, i.e. under the Ambassador and the DCM the head of the Embassy staff is no more important than the head of USIS, and the junior Consular Officer is as important as the junior Program Officer

—A large portion of the US foreign service is now at work in the developing world, where economics is often more important than politics. The problems of the developing world encompass more than occasional evacuations from obscure consular districts

—As long as all services are eligible for membership in the AFSA the organization needs to consider and serve their diverse needs. Discussions of pension plans, training programs, career development should not be viewed exclusively from the Foreign Service viewpoint but should reflect the diverse membership of the organization.

I hope these comments will enable you to take a look at how well AFSA is serving its membership—if they succeed in doing that they will have served their purpose.

APO New York

Ernest Stern

Editor's Note: In regard to one of your points, I think you would be interested to know that the First Vice-President of the Association is an officer of AID and the Secretary-Treasurer is from USIA. I can assure you that the Directors are very conscious of the need to have an Association actively engaged in the whole range of interests of its membership throughout the foreign affairs community.

The Doggerel Dip

I started out in life as Editor in Chief of the Yale Record trying to learn how to write doggerel. I am delighted with your "Rhymed and Scanning History of Diplomatic Twistery." Who wrote it? Give him my warmest congratulations. Tell him I will send him a set of the Encyclopedia Britannica! Try to make him a regular contributor!

When I was elected an honorary member of the Foreign Service Association I was asked what my perquisites were. I was told they were a free lifetime subscription to the Foreign Service Journal and an invitation to all Foreign Service affairs in Washington. The subscription has paid off for the next couple of years.

New York

William Benton

Editor's Note: *The author of "The Doggerel Dip" is W. Wendell Blancké who had a distinguished Foreign Service career before his recent retirement. He was Consul General in Monterrey and also Ambassador to the Republic of Chad, to the Republic of Congo, the Central African Republic and the Gabonese Republic.*

Extra copies of "The Doggerel Dip" are available at 25¢ each.

What Already Exists

I read with special interest the part of the AFSA Planning Committee report (No. 5 under "Well-Being") which has to do with assistance to Department retirees and resignees seeking other employment. According to the Committee recommendation, AFSA should "play an aggressive role in encouraging the agencies in foreign affairs to provide substantial professional assistance to departing personnel seeking employment."

Unless I misread this recommendation, I must assume the Committee is not aware that there is a Professional Placement Service in the Department which is now providing job leads both in and out of government to about 180 individuals retiring or resigning from the Department as well as from AID and USIA. This assumption is based on the lack of reference to the Placement Service in the report as well as on the fact that none of the members of the Committee has visited this office or talked to us about placement.

May I invite those AFSA Board members considering this section of the Planning Committee report to sit down with us and discuss the facilities already existing in the Department which have relevance to the recommendation before them?

Eric Kocher, *Director*
Professional Placement Service
Washington

Editor's Note: *AFSA Board Representatives have accepted Mr. Kocher's invitation and have had extensive discussions with him in recent weeks.*

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Who wants my FSJ file? December 1961 to present, reasonably complete and in good condition. F. G. Helman, Cooper Hill Road, Ridgefield, Connecticut 06877.

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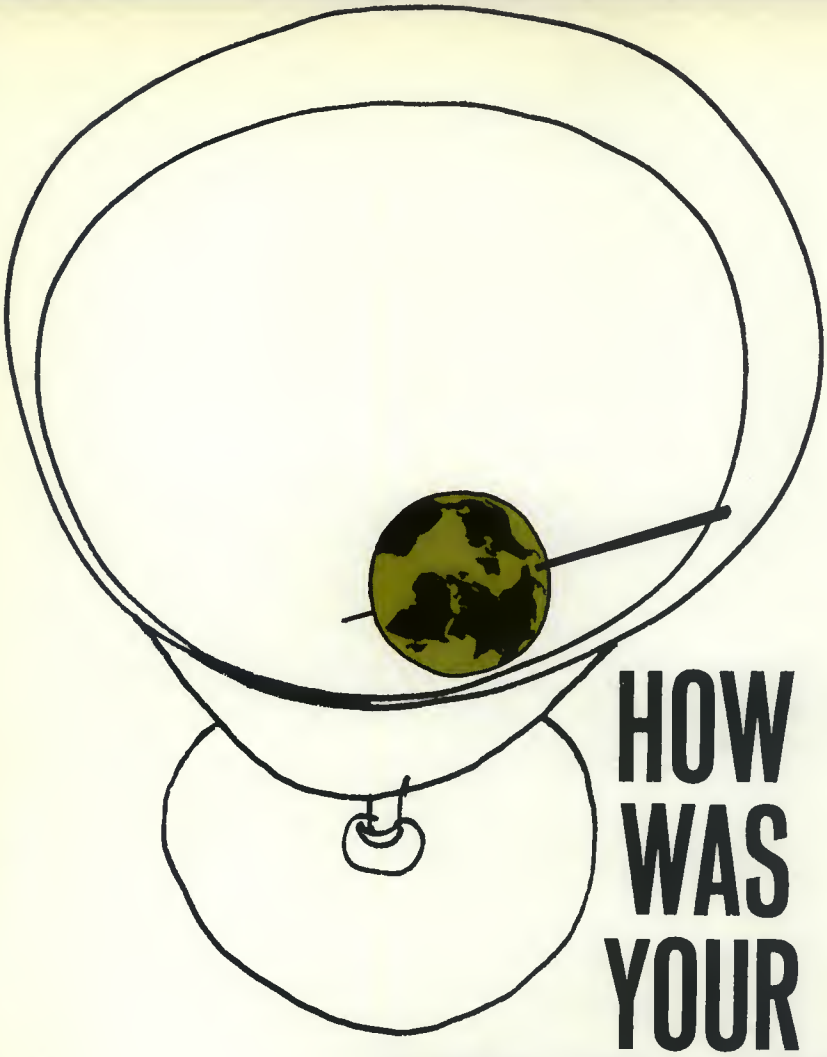

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